

FREE TRADE MEANS SERF PAY AND FAMINE FARE.

AMERICAN CITIZEN WORKMEN, LOOK TO CONGRESS
AS YOU LOOK FOR DINNER!

LESSONS.

A Protective Tariff in the United States of North America is a Quarantine against infection, importable in competitive foreign Manufactures.

The sole emblem of equality extant in the world, available among men, is the ballot in the American Union, where every citizen is an elector, and every ballot according to the law counts one, whether voted by a poor man or a millionaire.

Citizens and subjects are on high and low levels, with obstructions between, like Lakes Erie and Ontario, divided by Niagara Falls and the Whirlpool.

Free Trade will reduce the wages or give the work of American citizens to subjects of the British crown, and so lock down the citizen to the bottom-level of the subject, whilst it cannot lock up the subject to the summit-level of the citizen; because the British Dynasty of princesses and princes, and nobility in seriated ranks, constitute an aristocracy of ruling classes who plead for free trade in British goods in American markets, thereby to give British tenants employment to earn wages to pay rent to proprietors of hereditary estates and titles; but who same time deny free trade in political rights to the mass of British population, on whose industry the monarchy is built.

BY

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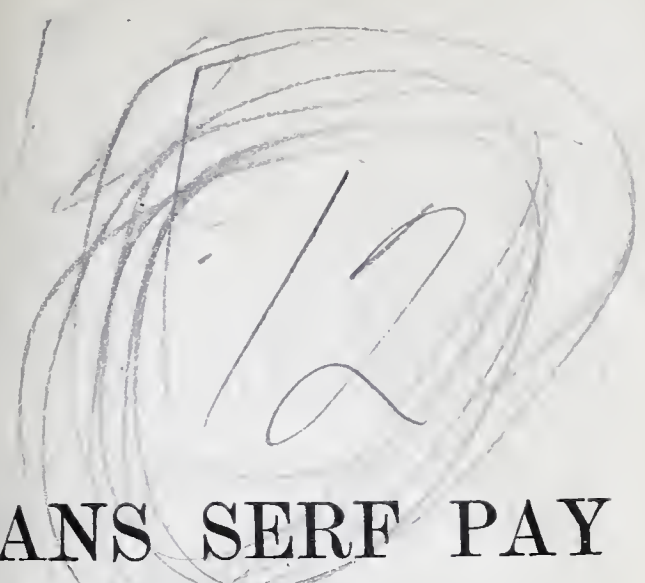
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FREE TRADE MEANS SERF PAY AND FAMINE FARE.

(Liar)

I.—THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

THE foremost question in American politics is—Shall the citizen workman of America forego his birthright for the support of the subject laborer in Europe? The answer of the ballot-armed elector is, No; emphatically no. And why?

The advent of the iron man, moved by steam power, and its versatile capacity shown in transportation, agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, admonishes the American citizen workman that, if he expect to keep pace with progress and continue in confraternity with invention and improvement, thus and thereby to realize and enjoy advantage and benefit through shortened hours of labor and additional and prolonged opportunities for intellectual culture and physical rest, he must oppose and combat the heterodox plea which British economists and their agents, attorneys, and imitators nominate free trade, and prescribe for the American Republic, which is in health, as if it were a patient under treatment; although, in truth, Great Britain meantime derives more revenue per head of population, from duties of customs on foreign imports, than is collected into the treasury of the United States from its tariff laws, which move the ire of the British politician and incite the amateur publicist to prate of reciprocity in trade.

True, the free list of Great Britain is now long, and its dutiable list is short; but that is because Great Britain throughout the last fifty and odd years has intermittently remodelled its tariff, according to its interest at the time and the prospect ahead; not, however, in the light of reciprocity, but of profit, taking care while adding to its free list that the aggregate revenue from “customs” shall not undergo material reduction as an item, in the income schedule of the United Kingdom.

For the year ended June 30, 1879, the United States and Great Britain derived from “customs” these sums, respectively, to wit:

	Amount.	Population.	Average per head.
The United States, . . .	\$137,250,047	48,000,000	\$2 $\frac{85}{100}$
Great Britain and Ireland,	100,080,000	34,000,000	2 $\frac{94}{100}$

Year ended June 30, 1879.	Total Public Revenue.	Population.	Taxation per head.
The United States, . . .	\$273,827,184	48,000,000	\$5 $\frac{70}{100}$
Great Britain and Ireland,	393,402,770	34,000,000	11 $\frac{57}{100}$

National Debt.	Principal.	Population.	Average per head.
The U. S., Jan. 1, 1880,	\$2,195,090,455	48,000,090	\$45 $\frac{73}{100}$
G. B. and I., Sept. 1, 1879,	3,890,394,200	34,000,000	114 $\frac{42}{100}$

The government of the United States has a domain comprising a thousand million acres of public land, eight-tenths of it in territories destined, most of them, soon to become states, and important states, too, particularly Dakota and Montana, which, we trust, will not be partitioned, but will both be admitted, when entitled to admission into the Union as states, with their present boundaries, as counterweights to Texas; for it is important to have states conspicuous for size, resources and inhabitants, scattered throughout the Union.

Great Britain, on the contrary, within boundaries circumscribed by nature, has a redundant population which is oppressed by land laws that tend to a diminution of proprietors and an increase of tenants, and is also forced to endure hardships and hunger to support a political superstructure too big for its base, in a costly dynasty and a proud nobility and gentry.

It is a faulty bridge that requires props to keep it in place on its piers. And a steeple that inclines from the perpendicular, because of inequalities at its foundation, is taken down and rebuilt, according to a plan adjusted to the supporting power of its site. England has too many long-bow archers, not enough architects of the American or French schools; it grows too many Micawber politicians who are ever waiting for "something to turn up" in the United States, wherefrom British manufacturers may gather profit; and its typical free trade economist, merged in a colporteur, comes over here not to "consider the beam which is in his own eye," but to "behold the mote which is in his brother's eye," through glasses which magnify the American tariff into a cause of obscurity of the golden glow of the American market to spectatorial England; albeit the interposition of the iron-clad rover Alabama, between Washington and London, caused the obscurity of the light of ocean commerce in the United States; but this last-named eclipse was phenomenal, according to the political astronomy of the British government during the Rebellion, and, barring the Geneva arbitration halt, has since been dismissed

from consideration, like the last eclipse of the sun caused by the interposition of the moon between the earth and its source of light.

On "two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

In two words, "British interests," is the Englishman's creed, as if Christianity has no interests which its professors are bound to weigh and watch, and other nations have no rights or longings, save where they do not antagonize "British interests," considered paramount. Such selfishness may be an element in the administration of Satan, the successful tempter of Englishmen who yearn for dominion, but God will smite it, nevertheless. In European Turkey the Briton is as anti-Christian as the modern Islamite, because the Briton contravenes his religious professions in his political practices, whereas the Turk in his adversity is not a propagandist but a stoic, with a fast hold on Mahomet's promise of a pass to paradise. Moreover, the Briton is eager and lustful for new acquisitions, whilst the Turk, from a defiant aggressor in Europe, is now reduced to a tolerated trespasser occupied with his own defence, and with misgivings of his fate, which the Berlin Congress of June-July, 1878, adjourned, but did not change. And if the coffin of the Turk's prophet was suspended between earth and heaven at Medina, the Turk himself is in suspense in Constantinople, where there are diplomatic headsmen and garroters in ambassadors from capitals south of St. Petersburg, sent to watch the "sick man" as impecunious heirs watch the ebbing life of a landholder whose possessions they expect to get a slice of, after his decease. The Russian was the Turk's adversary in war waged for cause, and won in battle what was confirmed by treaty; but the Berlin Congress made a gift to Austria of two of the provinces of Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had not a shadow of right to give away. Hence in time of peace, after a conflict, Russia and Turkey can affiliate, because both have to be alert, one against the jealousy, the other against the covetousness, of spectator powers.

How wars begun will end, is a question not answerable beforehand; for a campaign may have a successful military issue, and grave political consequences ensue, contrary to the expectations and opposite the wishes of both belligerents. The German campaign to Paris in 1870 was a military success, but its political consequences reimbursed France in the destruction of the Empire of Napoleon III., and the erection of the third republic on its site. True, France lost territory and paid indemnity to its adversary; but France meantime gained a free government under which it has since prospered beyond example in Europe, and to the amazement of crowned heads and imperial chancellors. And now France, homogeneous France, the land of trials and of triumphs, is again a power in Europe, mighty in men

and means, to play on option a conspicuous republican part in the European drama. And surely this end of the war of 1870-71, was not foreseen in its beginning, and is not what the vanquished Napoleon III. nor the victorious William I. anticipated or desired, either for Germany or France. The achieved independence of the United States inspired France with republican ideas; and the achieved independence of France in its government of the people over the last dynasty extinguished, will cause subjects in Great Britain and on the continent to consider the advantages of citizenship and the superiority of a republic over a dynastic government.

II.—THE FASHION LINE DRAWN AT TRADE.

In a republic free trade is an infection to be kept out by protection, because as in engineering from the datum line of the tide level, which is uniformly distant from the earth's centre, all elevations and altitudes are measured, so in the Republic of the United States all citizens stand on a common level of equal rights "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," from which horizontal plane all advancements, promotions, and merits are calculated and credited in the review of a lifetime; and hence in biographical annals there are as many statures and sizes of men as among trees planted apart, whereof two never grow precisely alike.

But in a kingdom or empire where population is divided into nobles and commons there are castes in classes; and law, usage, and fashion combine to exalt the title-wearer who is promiscuous in what he tastes with his palate and devours with his teeth, and fastidious in what he greets with his tongue and touches with his fingers, over the bread-winners in the organized army and navy of trade, which operate the works of the treaty-bound world and supply society with its necessities and comforts.

True, etiquette is not an enactment of Parliament, though it might as well be, since a society regulation established at Windsor Castle is formulated thence and made the fashion among the nobility and gentry, and others "in trade" of equal ability and merit with their patterns and preceptors; and so Britons have castes between titles and trades as actual and real as if described in the civil code. To be sure, people everywhere gravitate into groups and circles, and friendships are formed according to attainments, means, opportunity, and taste. But this is a matter between the parties for their own regulation, where there are no patented birthrights, no aristocracy of orders inherited and transmitted in perpetuity in established grades, and where merit, elsewhere an element in evolution, is merely an incident in a link of chain. A citizen must be leavened with intelligence or

he cannot rise; a scion of nobility may be born a dunce and die a duke, for the law promotes him, in the wake of death, to fill vacancies and inherit fortune; but the citizen can mount the political ladder to its top, there enjoy the highest honor in his country, thence descend from office again a citizen, and die a benefactor with an exemplary name. How different this from the machine-made fame of a prince born to figure-head a court, in a king's crown.

And that Windsor Castle is on the summit of a social fabric of levels and inclined planes, like the abandoned Portage Railway across the Allegheny mountain in Pennsylvania, is obvious in the exclusiveness arrogated on wedding days in the Royal Family; as when, for illustration, at the marriage of Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, to the Princess Margaret of Prussia, on the 13th of March, 1879, the invitations issued to representatives of foreign governments at the Court of St. James, London, were so restricted by a general rule that no cause for offence could be alleged on technical grounds, because several ambassadors were counted out in the proceeding. To be sure, an omitted ambassador might have said, "Give me my passport, I will go home;" and that course would have provoked discussion and roused indignation against the trade bar; but in the case mentioned the rule applied limited the invited guests to blood relations, and excluded more than one minister from powers of the first rank.

But when it is considered that there are on the earth 1,400,000,000 inhabitants, under an hundred governments, of which only sixteen contain ten million or more inhabitants, and ten which contain between five and ten million inhabitants, making but twenty-six governments with a population ranging from five million upwards, it is not difficult to conceive how an order might be framed for the limitation of invitations to a celebration or special company at Windsor Castle, to exclude a few cases under a general rule.

After royalty shall have passed away off the face of the earth, the dogma that dynastic personages reigned by "divine right" will be deemed an imposition kindred in wickedness to witchcraft—a delusion that, according to Barrington's estimate, caused thirty thousand judicial murders in England in two hundred years, prior to 1736. Judicial murders for witchcraft were also committed in the New England colonies.

If God were to found a household on the earth,—and we say this not in irreverence,—he surely would not organize it out of the reigning families of Europe, who are in no wise abler nor better than their subjects. The chosen apostles of Christ were not potentates, nor courtiers, nor special pleaders, but humble men of practical wisdom and personal worth, save one among the twelve; so that of par only

eight and one-third per cent. were spurious to ninety-one and two-thirds per cent. genuine.

In the United States, the citizen, elevated into Chief Magistrate, serves out his term of office and then returns back again to private life, having devoted himself to his country to the best of his ability (which is the most that mortal can do), and so performed his part in a conspicuous character in the drama of government. He makes the round, as water evaporated out of the sea into the air is borne inland on the wind, and there and thence descends to fructify the ground, in drops of dew or rain, and flows back again down rivulets and rivers to the ocean, to commingle in the movements of the tides.

Great Britain is not unlike a compartment ship that draws too much water to float across the bars and shoals which obstruct channels between great cities and the deep sea; or a tree with a small radius of roots and a large circumference of branches, and which, when a blast from a colony resolved on independence shall bend it, trunk and bough, is sure to break at a crotch and lose a limb; or a tower widened upward from its base, heedless of gravitation, to make room on its top for observations to estimate the specie value of the silver beams borrowed (by Luna the celestial to loan to her terrestrial majesty's subjects), from the bullionist of solar bars whose rays bring day from a gold disc outside of her majesty's jurisdiction, though not out of sight from her majesty's dominions.

In sooth, to make a show of assets in its empire balance-sheet, Great Britain would fain construe romance into a commodity through assessment of a silver value on beams from the moon and a gold value on rays from the sun, and make levy on the things supposititiously gilded with precious metal from the sky, did it not fear that, in such a seizure of candle-power in illuminated air, its

“Vaulting ambition might o'erleap itself
And fall on the other side.”

III.—GRADUATED KING-CRAFTINESS—SEA-LEVEL CITIZENSHIP.

Great Britain increases its purchases in foreign countries where, meantime, its sales diminish, because the tendency among nations is to caution in the creation of debt and to home manufacture of indigenous productions, the raw materials of commerce, into commodities for domestic use.

This manifest progress in the utilization of native resources with home machinery and labor, bodes no good to Great Britain, which is more dependent on foreign trade than any other nation; for it organized its manufactures on a scale adjusted not to the capacity of its own

subjects for consumption, but on the supposition that its free trade juggle would cozen other nations into prolonged content as "hewers of wood and drawers of water;" and that the profits, premiums and prizes in international trade would continue to enrich British manufacturers, and distribute wealth in rent, royalty, and interest, paid to hereditary and patented nobles who hold the titles to the realty of the kingdom, through the crown, and monopolize the luxuries and honors.

Great Britain, in truth, has grown into disproportion: its breadth of girth between its shoulders and its hips has made its body too weighty and unwieldy for its knees, which are no stronger than of yore, though the load on them has been made heavier in recent years.

Thus time reverses some things and so changes others that the face of the political world varies in expression like the countenance of an actor in tragedy or farce, for there are many phases of political and military weather, in the affairs of cabinet and camp.

Not long ago, in Cincinnati, a lion sprang upon the back of a donkey, when the party attacked put its assailant *hors de combat*, with its teeth and heels, and in the arena proved itself the better four-legged gladiator.

The domestic animal overcame the "king of beasts" with the force latent in its extremities, and the "roar" of the lion was a waste of wind in the combat. The donkey had not heard how Satan in a lion's skin goes prowling around "seeking whom he may devour," nor how the Briton in a lion's skin, or its effigy in scarlet cloth, goes roving around among savages, unused to firearms, especially of modern make, seeking whom he may annex.

The lower animal donkey knew that it had been assailed, and that sufficed to rouse the law implanted in its being for self-preservation. And if the higher animal man, where robbed of his birthright as the heir of the Creator resident in heaven, to a share equal to any of his sublunary fellows, in the opportunities for advancement incidental to human life, according as the outlook is from a belfry or a basement, would put himself on the law in his reason and the strength in his arm, jointly available for the vindication of his rights, and stand up like the lion rampant on a shield, the lion *couchant* would not effigy his situation in an escutcheon, nor on a ship's stern.

The web of royal fiction, woven by diplomatic spiders, was cut with the sword of Cromwell, and afterwards by Napoleon I., who made pedestals of thrones and puppets of kings; and which web, though magnified from a spider's thread into imitation wire ropes, was swept out of the Tuileries September 4, 1870, with a town meeting resolution broom, when the Republic of France, since confirmed

by the ballot, succeeded the empire of Napoleon III., the last of the crowned Bonapartes.

And as the sword succumbed to the ballot in France, which is now reaping the fruits of the destruction of the Bastile, July 14, 1789, so will the sword succumb to the ballot in the British home islands, when the Washington and the Jefferson in the future shall appear to the scribes (the interviewers) and the people, who are already educated and ripe for a Fourth of July of their own, with the modern improvements in political architecture.

God speed the Republic in Great Britain and Ireland, and hasten the departure of princes out of Europe, from the longitude of Rome and Berlin, and the capitals west thereof; leaving it to time to leaven the east and bake it into autonomic beads for the republican rosary which the world will wear around its neck, before it can be put in order for the millennium.

The supreme law is a written constitution; the supreme power is "the will of the people," expressed at the polls and in the national Congress and state Legislatures.

Between citizens of the United States and subjects of Great Britain, bonded to hereditary rulers, an aristocracy not of brain but of birth, there is a demarcation which the Atlantic Ocean represents and resembles. And reciprocity in free trade would take from the citizen and give to the subject, and yet not raise up the latter to the cut-down level of the former, for the reason that British institutions are storied one above another in an edifice which has vaults under its pavements and skylights in its roof; a kingdom containing an implexed series of inhabitants in succession, like creditors and stockholders of a debt-burdened corporation; the former secured, some by a first lien, others by a second, third, or still later lien, others again holding bills payable without collaterals, the stockholders coming in last, and only entitled to a dividend if sufficient surplus profit remain, after payment of interest on all debts outstanding.

The American citizen stands upon fast land above high-water mark, where his footing is secure, his prospect without a cloud to darken the horizon; the subject stands on low ground, behind a bank made to keep out the water, and where a break or a washover would beset him with discomfort if not danger; for where there was chaos once, "chaos may come again," and remembering how long the "Dark Ages" covered Europe, and how tenacious a dynasty is of power in its grasp—who can foretell the earthquake that shall shake thrones and bury the devices which have so long withheld from the masses, rights normal in human nature?

"Excelsior!" is the word for those at the base who look up the

mountain; those at the top who witness the ascent must relinquish their feudalistic prerogatives and greet the vanguard of progress as fellow members of a common fraternity, or else escape down the other side of the mountain and flee into the desert, for the wrath that will follow them will be lava-like.

IV.—WHEN THE TITLE OF BARONET WAS CREATED AND HOW IT WAS SOLD.

James I., who, as “king of Great Britain,” united the two crowns of England and Scotland, ascended the throne March 24, 1603. To replenish his treasury he created a new hereditary title, that of Baronet (which is below a Baron and above a Knight), in May, 1611; “the price of a baronetcy, including fees, was about £1200” (\$6000). The king’s patent declared that the order was instituted to raise revenue for the plantation of Ulster, whereas Lord Treasurer Salisbury said the object was “to put money in the purse.”

Charles I. sold baronetcies in Scotland to provide funds for the plantation of Nova Scotia. This royal personage “stipulated that the number of baronetcies should under no circumstances exceed two hundred;” but he himself had created two hundred and fifty-three, when he was beheaded by Parliament, January 30, 1649.

The London *Pall Mall Gazette*, in August, 1877, published an article on “English Baronetage,” in which its writer says:

“Excluding Scotch and Irish baronetcies, * * * no fewer than “1058 baronetcies had been created when George III. came to the “throne.”

This battalion of manufactured gentry was patented in these proportions, to wit:

By James I.,	.	.	205	By William III.,	.	.	37
“ Charles I.,	.	.	253	“ Queen Anne,	.	.	27
“ Charles II.,	.	.	426	“ George I.,	.	.	42
“ James II.,	.	.	20	“ George II.,	.	.	48

Total, as in extract quoted,	.	.	.	.	.	1058
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“By far the greater number of baronets who are not also peers “bear titles not older than the reign of George III., who created over “300 of them. Of those created by George IV. there are 47; by “William IV., 47; and by the Queen [Victoria], 83.”

In 1879 there were in the Kingdom 577 Peers and 865 Baronets.

There was an interregnum in the dynasty, during the Commonwealth, from the beheading of Charles I., January 30, 1649, to the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II., who ascended the throne May 29, 1660.

The court of Charles II. is described by Thomas Babington Macaulay, in his *History of England*, in these words :

“ Whitehall, when he dwelt there, was the focus of political intrigue and of fashionable gayety. Half the jobbing and half the flirting of the metropolis went on under his roof. Whoever could make himself agreeable to the prince, or could secure the good offices of the mistress, might hope to rise in the world without rendering any service to the government, without being even known by sight to any minister of state. This courtier got a frigate, and that a company ; a third, the pardon of a rich offender ; a fourth, a lease of crown land on easy terms. If the king notified his pleasure that a briefless lawyer should be made a judge, or that a libertine baronet should be made a peer, the gravest counsellors, after a little murmuring, submitted.”

How many hereditary title-wearers there are in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to-day, in the five orders of nobility above baronet, and what their income is, derived from rent, much of it from rent of land for which their ancestors paid no consideration, is a question adjourned for a coming deliverance to solve on a platform of citizenship, to which the titled legions will be invited to step down to surrender their patents, and the untitled millions will be asked to step up into possession of their restored rights.

Among the later baronets created in England is Sir Morton Peto, who built a railroad in the Crimea, in 1855, for the allies, from Balaklava to the camp before Sebastopol, and in 1866 negotiated the lease of the Catawissa Railroad for account of the Atlantic and Great Western Railway Company. And Sir Edwin W. Watkin and Sir Henry W. Tyler, both of record in the annals of the Canada Grand Trunk and New York, Lake Erie and Western (formerly Erie) Railway Companies. Thus out of the railway ranks were taken three of her majesty's subjects to recruit the gallery of Windsor Castle's auditorium, which has court circles with social barriers between, like tiers in an opera house, with the dukes in the stage boxes, the marquises in the parquette seats, the earls in the parquette circle, the viscounts in the first tier or balcony, and the barons in the second tier or family circle. Hence to rise in rank, gallery baronets have to descend from tier to tier, so going up in promotion as they go down in gravitation ; not unlike the Mississippi river, which to reach the sea has to run up hill between New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico, because as its width of surface increases its depth of channel decreases, and so its bottom towards its mouth is an ascending plane against its current.

All three of the railway baronets have visited the United States

and the Dominion of Canada, the last two several times. Sir Morton, however, retired wounded in his balance-sheet, but Sirs Edwin and Henry are in the business of making railway accounts balance with reconstruction weights. On their travels in the American Union and the Canada Dominion, Sir Edwin and Sir Henry both look through glasses of magnifying power and telescopic range, which enable them to see more than there is, in what there is to be. The patients, Canada Grand Trunk, New York, Lake Erie and Western, and Atlantic and Great Western, though never well to these fiscal physicians, are always convalescent per appearance and sure to recover in future time, if nourished with the proceeds of an assessment or a new subscription to a new issue of promises to pay. This consolation Sir Edwin and Sir Henry take with them home to England in narrative which "holds the word of promise to the ear," and thence send over to America new pounds to vivisection the expended pounds sent before. If too sanguine and enthusiastic, their elation is attributed to the aurora borealis and the dazzling shine on its prismatic colors reflected in the Dominion's counterpane of Canada ice; and the British investor is thus indemnified for his past losses, with information of "where his money will do the most good." But whatsoever may have been the merit rewarded in prefixing "Sir" to Edwin and Henry, certain it is that if railway reconstructionists and inflationists, and captains from campaigns against unoffending tribes in Africa and Asia, are in the line of promotion to titles patent, England will have as many baronets as its Jingoese have nightmares, and its aristocracy of nobility and gentry will outnumber its sparrows.

V.—THE COSTLINESS OF DYNASTIC GOVERNMENT.

How the expenses of administration have increased in Great Britain and Ireland since the Crimean war, which was declared simultaneously by England and France March 28, 1854, and ended by the treaty of Paris between the four allied powers and Russia, signed March 30, 1856, these figures attest:

Year.	Total Income.		Year.	Total Expenditure.	
1853,	£57,726,990.	\$288,634,950.	1853,	£55,309,328.	\$276,546,640.
1859,	65,623,180.	328,115,900.	1859,	64,802,872.	320,014,360.
1869,	72,591,992.	362,959,960.	1869,	75,490,909.	377,454,545.
1879,	85,115,972.	425,579,860.	1879,	85,407,789.	427,038,945.

In 1853 the official year ended January 5. In 1859, and since, the official year ended March 31.

The revenue of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the revenue of the United States, from all sources, in both cases, for the year ended June 30, 1879, was as under, to wit:

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

Year ended June 30, 1879.

From Customs, . . .	\$100,080,000
Excise, ...	135,375,000
Stamps, ...	54,620,000
Land Tax and House Duty, . . .	13,270,000
Property and In- come Tax, ...	46,705,000
Post Office, ...	31,280,000
Telegraph Service, .	6,675,000
Crown Lands, . . .	2,035,000
Interest on Ad- vances, ...	5,588,625
Miscellaneous sources, ...	20,473,010

Total, \$416,101,635

Estimated population, . . 34,000,000

Expenditure for official year
ended March 31, 1879, \$427,038,945

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Year ended June 30, 1879.

From Customs, ...	\$137,250,047
Internal Revenue, . .	113,561,610
Sales of Public Lands, ...	924,781
Tax on circulation and deposits of National Banks, . .	6,747,500
Repayment of in- terest by Pacific Railway Com- panies, ...	2,707,201
Customs, fees, fines, penalties, etc., . .	1,100,876
Fees consular, let- ters patent and lands, ...	2,136,051
Proceeds of sales of government pro- perty, ...	181,128
Premiums on sales of coin, ...	8,104
Premiums on loans, .	1,496,943
Profits on coinage, etc., ...	2,924,938
Revenues of the District of Co- lumbia, ...	1,741,461
Miscellaneous sources, ...	3,046,544

Total, \$273,827,184

Estimated population (low), 48,000,000

Expenditure for official year
ended June 30, 1879, \$266,947,883

Here we have the proof that, with forty-one per cent. less of population, the United Kingdom—think of an “united” Kingdom with Ireland included with England—had to collect fifty-one per cent. more of revenue, and was still short!

England has an empire, but its parts are not contiguous nor sympathetic and its colonies and far-away conquests are not profitable investments in a revenue sense. Besides, if a colony develop into strength, physical and educational, it will naturally yearn and plan for political independence. It does not suffice to say to the colonist “peace, be still,” and lodge your hopes in the established church, the hereditary House of Lords, and the Dynasty, because a human being is

never a man of the maximum measure of human nature, till he become a nationalist and has a country to which he exclusively belongs. The colonial situation is an intermediate political purgatory; for a Canadian is a colonist, not a British nor an Irish subject of the United Kingdom, nor an American citizen. And it is preposterous to suppose that the Australian will remain a colonist in his own grand insulated country.

VI.—WHAT THE HUGUENOTS, LOMBARDS AND FLEMINGS DID FOR ENGLAND.

The problem with Great Britain is how to subsist its population; for manifest it is that England is over-peopled and that emigration is the remedy and cure. England has had an extraordinary career, as had other nationalities before it, of record in the Bible and later books; but progress is a power which cannot be stayed on its march, and change of commercial base is the sequence of agricultural expansion and industrial development in new fields, where nature is fresh and prolific and man matures without the shackles of the old world upon his limbs. The citizen is a field oak with a clean bark. The subject is a tree girdled with parasites which cluster where they squeeze and cover cuts with leaves.

What is the American Union but a revelation to the old civilizations of what man in citizenship can compass, over his fellow-creature as a subject? The boundary-lines on the map of Europe were traced with the sword; the states in the American Union additional to the thirteen colonies were founded by immigrants from the old states into the wilderness, whither also flocked strangers from Europe, to find a rest from oppression and a reward for industry, in manhood aspirations and home joys. And as a state in the Union has a mission as part of a nation and a course to run like a star in the solar system, states foster cities and towns and develop industries to collect and employ urban population; for states "purely rural" would fall behind in the race of enterprise to the goal of opulence and greatness. Thus states in the American Union, in material matters, are as nations in Europe. And if some of the old states in the Union, like some of the old nations in Europe, are behind others in the development of industries to utilize resources and increase population, the causes will be found in mistaken administration policy and practice.

Handling goods in transitu never built a populous city, as witness Havre the port of Paris, and New Orleans the shipping port of the Mississippi valley. And if Norfolk manipulated into textile fabrics more of the cotton bales it exports to Europe, it would contain a

population of cotton operatives many times more numerous than its stevedores.

In the infancy of its manufactures Pennsylvania exported its initial make of pig iron, whereas now it imports iron ores in coal boats as return freight from the Hudson river and other New York waters, in steam craft on the lakes, in cars from neighbor states, and in ships from foreign lands, for admixture with its own native ores, and elaborates its home-made pig iron into the multiform manufactures of that master metal.

Pennsylvania is the youngest of the thirteen original colonies, except Georgia. Virginia was settled by the English at Jamestown in 1607. New York by the Dutch in 1612. Massachusetts by the Pilgrims 1620. New Hampshire was settled 1623. New Jersey between 1620 and 1630. Maryland 1632. Connecticut 1633. Rhode Island founded 1638. Delaware settled 1638. North Carolina settled between 1650 and 1660. South Carolina 1670. Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn under charter from Charles II., dated March 4, 1681. Georgia was settled 1733.

New York city, settled 1612, is seventy years, equal to two generations, older than Philadelphia, founded 1682.

Coal and iron are the bases of machinery and steam-power; gold and silver are the bases of circulating mediums and commercial transactions; cotton and wool are the bases of textile manufactures; wheat and corn are the bases of bread; and all these and more, including cattle, sheep and swine, fish, poultry and game, rice, sugar and buckwheat, barley and hops, potatoes and oats, and fruits and vegetables and nuts and acorns, and hemp, jute and flax, and copper, zinc and lead, and granite and marble and potters' clay, and woods and furs, are among the productions of American soils, quarries, forests and mines, coasts, bays, lakes and rivers. To which add orchards and vineyards, fisheries, oil wells and oyster beds; all in profusion, variety, perfection. Look along the coast's bill of fare from Cape Florida to Cape Cod!

What a picture is America to the mind of man which, where it has zeal, has sight to traverse curves of light as well as straight rays, and so see beyond mountains and across waters, and meantime sympathize with the crusaders of the day in the struggles which distract mankind, where fetters fastened with rivets are yet to be knocked off.

The American citizen, unbiased and independent, will continue to hope on and sigh till the crescent shall have been removed from the minarets of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, to give place to the Greek Cross which crowned the spires of St. Sophia four hundred years ago, before it was taken down by the conqueror of the city, who put in its

stead the symbol of the false prophet whose work was war, to make conquest for the Koran.

And now in these days of intelligence in submarine cables, overland wires, steamships, railways and newspapers, how pitiful is the German, English and Austrian jealousy which retains the Christ-hating Turk in Constantinople, when it is the manifest mission of Christianity to recover the ground it lost through the subversion of the Greek empire (successor to the Eastern Roman empire), by the Mohammedan empire, as it is to cordon the earth with political communities advanced ahead of the heathen, pagan, barbarian and gentile, in government, morals, institutions and arts.

Adam ate forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden, whereupon God summoned the guilty first-man, and said unto him, Genesis 3 : 19, 23:

19. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return
"unto the ground; for out of it thou wast taken; for dust thou art,
"and unto dust shalt thou return. * * *

23. "Therefore the Lord sent him forth from the garden of Eden,
"to till the ground from whence he was taken."

Hence man has no option but to seek subsistence out of the ground by tilling its soil and developing its deposits, both gifts of nature. To earn a livelihood is God's injunction. To foster opportunities to earn a livelihood is the duty of rulers to the ruled. And as the earth is portioned off into nationalities comprised of races with different languages, laws, customs, interests and ambitions, conflicts of jurisdiction ensue, accompanied with controversy instigated for territorial conquest or commercial gain. The map of Europe is mainly the work of armed men; and now that the western nations of Europe are over-peopled, the trouble is to extract from the ground, subsistence for the populations. Without breadstuffs and provisions from America there would be more famine in Europe.

To "till the ground" is to utilize its surface and subterranean productions; to grind wheat into flour, weave wool and cotton into apparel, and manipulate ores of iron into articles of use in the arts of peace and war. Thus agriculture and manufactures are twin essentials to human development, prosperity and progress.

In the genealogy of the Patriarchs, in Genesis the record is:

4 : 20. "And Adah bare Jabal; he was the father of such as dwell
"in tents, and of such as have cattle.

21. "And his brother's name was Jubal; he was the father of such
"as handle the harp and organ.

22. "And Zillah she also bare Tubal-Cain, an instructor of every
"artificer in brass and iron."

In the generations of Adam, therefore, there were bread-winners,

cattle-raisers, workers in the metals and musicians. And so God diversified pursuits "when men began to multiply on the face of the earth."

After the flood, Noah and his sons, and his wife and his sons' wives with him, went forth out of the ark, with male and female of every living thing preserved, "to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth."

"And the sons of Noah that went forth of the ark were Shem and Ham and Japhet;" "and of them was the whole earth overspread."

Lands were cultivated and cities built, wherein labor was utilized and arts encouraged; and so nations were founded and civilization was developed; but progress was uncertain as well after as before Christ.

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire of the West (ended in 492), the dark ages covered about six hundred years. The Romans entered Britain 55 years before Christ, and left it voluntarily, because of home troubles, 427 years after Christ, concluding a stay of nearly five centuries.

The feudal ages were distinguished for field sports; the small portion of land cultivated was near the castles, the feudal possessors (when not in war) taking more pleasure in hunting than in agriculture or literature.

For the first two centuries after the conquest, says Hallam, "commerce was almost confined to the exportation of wool, the great staple commodity of England."

Dew's Digest of the laws, customs, manners and institutions of the ancient and modern nations (page 337), says:

"Tools of tradesmen very rude and cheap, *e. g.*, at Colchester in 1296 and 1301 carpenter's stock valued at one shilling and consisted of only five tools. Other tradesmen in proportion, except tanner, whose stock was valued at £9 7s. 10d. Latter greatest trade of the times, owing to the clothing being made of skins. There was scarcely any commerce, for all the highways were infested with robbers and the water with pirates. Even greatest nobles joined in robbery. * * * For these reasons movable property was but little regarded, and hence cities were small and miserable, for they had no trade or manufactures."

In the fourteenth century the harvest-man received 4d. a day; the common laborer under Henry VI., 1422-1461, earned 3d. a day. By act of parliament in 1350 wages of reapers 3d. a day, without diet. Yearly wages of a chief hind or shepherd £1 4s.; common servant in husbandry 18s. 4d., with meat and drink. Though food was cheap in those feudal times, manufactures were dear and comfort a stranger to the serf, called a villein.

Norton's History of London says :

“ Whatever commerce may have been carried on in the earlier ages of British history by foreigners visiting the English shores, it may safely be pronounced that, the *natives* engaged no further in it than by supplying raw materials to their customers. * * * The system of feudal tenure established at the conquest was peculiarly unfavorable to mercantile pursuits. The whole community, with the exception of a few towns, may be said under that polity to have consisted of landed proprietors and their slaves or villeins.

“ The time, however, had now arrived in which the many incorporated companies of foreigners which had from time to time established themselves in London, with all their various and distinguishing privileges, were obliged to yield to the universal animosity expressed against them. They had, in the progress of some centuries, dispensed the most important benefits throughout the nation, by the communication of the arts and comforts of civilization; by the introduction of manufactures of every kind; by their commercial example and instruction; and by their promotion of naval enterprise.”

Accordingly, in the reign of Edward VI. (1547–1553), all the privileges of the company of the Hanseatic League and the society of the Merchants of the Steelyard were declared void and their franchises forfeited.

“ Besides these two bodies of foreign merchants, who were regularly associated as incorporated companies, many others, chiefly Lombards, were settled in different parts of England, and carried on a very considerable trade both external and internal. The English, more particularly the Londoners, instead of profiting by the instruction to be derived from these strangers, in the arts of manufacture and of commerce, and endeavoring to compete with them, cherished feelings of the most rancorous jealousy and hatred against them.”

Fifteen thousand Flemings were obliged to leave London at one time by order of Council.—Le Grand, vol. iii., p. 232.

May 1, 1517, in a furious riot against them, many foreigners were killed and their houses plundered.

In the reign of Henry VIII., 1509–1547, says Norton, “ although the clothing manufacture flourished in a considerable degree, the export of raw wool still continued enormous; sixty vessels laden with that staple sailed in one year from Southampton for the Netherlands. * * *

“ In the reign of James I., the exportation of wool, which had been denied to foreigners by Elizabeth, was, in direct contrast to the policy of our early ancestors, forbidden altogether.”

The Navigation Act passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth,

October, 1651, provided that "all goods exported from any foreign country, except those of the growth of such country, shall only be imported into Great Britain in British bottoms."

This restrictive Navigation Act of Cromwell caused a rapid diminution of the carrying trade of Holland and contributed to increase the carrying trade of England, thus realizing the two objects of its enactment.

From the expulsion by Edward VI. of the foreign associated companies which had introduced manufactures in England, to the end of the reign of Charles II., the commerce of England advanced with a rapidity which had no precedent. Having profited from the instructions of the numerous weavers and artificers among the invited foreigners from the continent, who located in England in the fourteenth century and communicated their skill in the arts wherein Englishmen were ignorant, the government of England, in pursuance of the "sharp practice" since adhered to in cases enough for a chronological table, forfeited the franchises granted to invited and refugee foreigners, and so gave to the pupil what it had vested in his preceptor. It is repudiation by foreigners, not confiscation by Englishmen, that horrifies the moral sense of London, abbreviated into *Loot*.

"The people of England," says Norton, "did not, until the reign of Edward I. (1272-1307), cultivate any manufactures for the purpose of wholesale trade. Most of the manufactured articles, even the woollen (which was the earliest they engaged in), were imported."

"It was not till the reign of Edward III. (1327-1377) that the woollen manufactures of England arrived at such perfection as to produce cloths in any considerable quantity for exportation. * * * This improvement and increase of our manufactures must be entirely attributed to the great encouragement given by Edward III. to foreign weavers and artificers, great numbers of whom settled in many parts of England, and particularly in London, Norwich and Worsted—a place in Norfolk of which not a vestige now remains, but which gave the name to the manufacture of worsted."

In 1331 Edward III. took advantage of discontent among the manufacturers of Flanders to invite them into his realm. Of the inducements held out to the Flemings, Fuller's Church History, quoted in a foot-note in Hallam's Middle Ages, gives this picture:

"Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton till nothing but fullness should stint their stomachs; their beds should be good and their bed-fellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them."

Henry VII., 1485–1509, imported great numbers of Flemish woollen manufacturers, who, says Norton, “were superior to our own, and settled them at Leeds, Wakefield and Halifax.”

In the reign of the illustrious Elizabeth, 1558–1603, the massacre and persecution of the Huguenots in France, and the execution and persecution of the Flemings by the Duke of Alva, caused thousands of refugees from the continent to seek asylum in England, where the strangers, comprising the most skillful and industrious artisans in Europe, by their superior ingenuity in the arts, won a welcome which mollified if it did not allay the jealousy against foreigners, prevailing in England.

VII.—POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

In the reign of Henry VIII., who ascended the throne April 22, 1509, the population of London was computed at 135,000.

At the accession of James I., 1603, London was estimated to contain, of inhabitants, about 150,000.

London was founded by the Celtic Britons and was occupied by the Romans. In 827 Egbert, on the union of the Saxon states under his sole dominion, fixed upon London as the seat of his residence and the capital of his kingdom. The Danes captured London in 839, but were expelled by Alfred, who “strengthened” London 884.

In 1066 William the Norman killed Harold the Saxon king at Hastings, and was crowned at London.

Still, London, notwithstanding its antiquity, is substantially the growth of the present century, as the figures below show, to wit:

POPULATION OF LONDON.

1801,	864,845	1841,	1,870,727
1811,	1,009,546	1851,	2,362,236
1821,	1,225,694	1861,	2,803,921
1831,	1,474,069	1871,	3,251,804

Wales was annexed to England in 1283.

Population of England and Wales from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, both inclusive:

1377.	1483.	1696.	1750.	1770.	1780.	1790.
2,092,978.	4,689,000.	5,250,000.	6,467,000.	7,428,000.	7,953,000.	8,675,000.

In the three hundred and seven (307) years from 1483 to 1790, England and Wales increased only 3,986,000, or eighty-five (85) per cent. in population. Or in other words, from the discovery of America by Columbus (1492) to the commencement of the French revolution

by the destruction of the Bastile in 1789. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope as an ocean route to India was made in 1497.

In 1652, in the time of Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth, the population of Ireland was 850,000. In 1870 the population of the State of New Jersey was 906,096. The population of England and Wales was six to one of the population in Ireland at the time Charles I. was beheaded and the king was proved not more "divine," not less mortal, than the subject. And so the proof will continue to accumulate till the last scion of a pretender to "divinity" titleship to a throne (since the veritable Son of God was crucified, and whose kingdom is not of this world), shall have been driven into exile or made to earn his bread, like any other creature of the sole Creator.

No wonder that an intellectual prince or noble, of which there is still one here and there, after a visit to and over the United States, returns sore-headed to Europe, because he *saw too much on his travels*, albeit he may have been entertained at the tables of plenty in banquet halls where stewards of fortune smile in reciprocity of mutual admiration, like one die-cut face to another on the coin of commerce, and see sky angels with wings in mint eagles stamped in gold.

But the dollar, though mighty to move fashion's tongue and the flatterer's pen, is not "almighty" to buy brain or build a fame to last longer than the stomach can digest its dinner; for a name to be illustrious in human annals must have scintillating rays like a sunbeam admitted into a dark place, where the motes floating in air are visible in the streak of light sent down from the genius of day.

The detective machine of intellectual society is illustrated in a coal-breaker in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, where *slate* found in coal on its way to the screen for assortment into sizes, is picked out and cast away.

A straddler who plants one foot in England, the other in America, and puts one palm on the Washington Capitol and the other palm on the London Parliament House, cannot withdraw either leg to stand straight in either country, as such attempt to abate his dilemma would cause him to fall into the sea and the oblivion which awaits all who miscalculate their mental base, or who think they can escalate the gravitation law, as easy as they can stride a curbstone in crossing a street.

Scotland was united to England and Wales in 1707, which three countries comprise Great Britain. In 1800 the Parliamentary union of Ireland with Great Britain was effected, to date from January 1, 1801, when the realm was named "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

POPULATION.

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.
England, ...	8,331,434	9,551,888	11,261,437	13,089,338
Wales, ...	541,546	611,788	717,438	805,236
Scotland, ...	1,599,068	1,805,688	2,093,456	2,365,807
Total, ...	10,472,048	11,969,364	14,072,331	16,260,381
Army, Navy, etc., ...	470,598	640,500	319,300	277,017
Total Great Britain, ...	10,942,646	12,609,864	14,391,631	16,537,398
Ireland, ...	5,395,456	5,937,856	8,175,124	7,784,934
Total Great Britain and Ireland, ...	16,338,102	18,547,720	22,566,755	24,322,332
	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.
England, ...	14,995,138	16,854,142	18,949,130	21,495,131
Wales, ...	916,619	1,060,626	1,111,795	1,217,135
Scotland, ...	2,620,184	2,870,784	3,061,251	3,360,018
Total, ...	18,531,941	20,785,552	23,122,176	26,072,284
Army, Navy, etc., ...	312,493	150,916	162,021	229,000
Total Great Britain, ...	18,844,434	20,936,468	23,284,197	26,301,284
Ireland, ...	8,175,124	6,515,794	5,764,543	5,411,416
Islands in British seas, ...		143,126	143,679	144,638
Total Great Britain and Ireland, ...	27,019,558	27,595,388	29,192,419	31,857,338

COMPARISON.

1871	England and Wales, ...	22,712,266
1790	England and Wales, ...	8,675,000
81	Increase in 81 years subsequent to 1790 (161 per cent.), ...	14,037,266
1790	England and Wales, ...	8,675,000
1483	England and Wales, ...	4,689,000
307	Increase in 307 years prior to 1790 (85 per cent.), ...	3,986,000

FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.
1878.	\$1,779,052,000.	\$1,180,028,000.	\$599,024,000.	
1800.	152,853,025.	190,660,600.		\$37,807,575.

PIG IRON MANUFACTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	Furnaces in blast.	Tons of pig iron made.
1878.	499.	6,381,051.
1788.	77.	61,900.

In 1873 there were in blast 683 furnaces, which produced 6,566,451 tons.

COTTON GOODS EXPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

1878.	Cotton manufactures and cotton yarn, ...	\$320,317,000
1790.	Cotton manufactures and cotton yarn, ...	8,311,845

The fact that, in 1780, Great Britain and Ireland, comprising England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, contained less than twelve mil-

lions (12,000,000) of inhabitants, or about the same population (or less) as the three contiguous states New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio contain at this time, proves that at the date mentioned, agriculture was the principal employment of British subjects, notwithstanding that three hundred years had elapsed since Edward III. had encouraged foreign weavers and artificers to settle in England, to school-master the natives in the manufacturing arts and industries. England encouraged foreign immigration till it no longer needed tutors from the continent to teach primary schools of art, and then it forfeited the charters granted to the strangers invited or welcomed by it, and clamored against foreigners as dangerous sojourners.

VIII.—CUSTOMS DUTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The expulsion of the foreign associated companies by Edward VI., and the Navigation Act passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, gave England a maritime policy and stimulated domestic manufactures in a way that caused English ships to multiply and Dutch ships to decrease, and also begot a selfish desire for the destruction of the organized industries of other nations, even to the engrossment of the markets of the world.

In pursuance of this object England imposed duties on imports for the protection of the products of its agriculture and its manufactures.

A custom-house on a large scale was erected in London in 1304. The customs were "farmed" for the last time by Charles II., in 1666. In 1671 commissioners were appointed. In 1787 the customs were consolidated by Pitt. From time to time, however, since 1846, the number of articles subject to customs duties has been reduced, but nevertheless the customs duties collected in the calendar year 1840, when England's tariff list comprised 1042 articles, and its policy of protection was paramount, was less in gross amount than in the calendar year 1878, under England's practice of qualified free trade; for where there is free trade "pure and simple" there can be no customs duties.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland:

	1840.	1878.
Revenue from customs duties,	\$99,576,480	\$100,825,000
		99,576,480
Increase,		\$1,278,520

Sir Robert Peel's so-called Free Trade measures were enacted into law in June, 1846, whereby the tariff list was reduced to fewer articles. Therefore it should follow that the customs duties collected in

1850, four years subsequent to the inauguration of Free Trade, would exhibit a decrease, compared with the customs duties on imports collected in 1845, the last year of England's confessedly protective tariff, but the contrary is the truth, as see :

	1845.	1850.
Revenue from customs duties,	\$100,984,280	\$102,210,850
		<u>100,984,280</u>
Increase,		\$1,226,570

In 1857, customs duties were collected on 439 articles in Great Britain. In 1860 the list was reduced, and is now restricted to but few articles on which the customs duties are heavy, made so to yield revenue. The duty on wheat imported was continued down to 1869 inclusive.

The British Tariff of 1868 (twenty-two years after Sir Robert Peel's inauguration of what has since been called "free trade") imposed these rates of duty among others, to wit :

		£	s.	d.	In U. S. money, pound sterling computed at five dollars.
Beer and Ale, all kinds of,	barrel,	1	0	0	\$5 00
Coffee,	per pound,			3	6
Corn and Grain of all kinds,	per cwt.,			3	6
Meal and Flour of all kinds,	per cwt.,			4½	9
Malt,	per quarter,	1	5	0	6 25
Plate, gold,	ounce troy,	17	0		4 25
Plate, silver, gilt or ungilt,	ounce troy,	1	6		37
Brandy,	proof gallon,	10	5		2 60
Rum,	gallon,	10	5		2 60
Perfumed spirits for perfumery,	gallon,	14	0		3 50
Sugar, refined, or equal thereto,	per cwt.,	12	10		3 20
Sugar not equal to Brown Muscovado, cwt.,		8	2		2 04
Molasses,	per cwt.,	3	6		87
Tea,	per pound,			6	12
Tobacco, manufactured, cigars,	per pound,	5	0		1 25
“ cavendish or negrohead,	per pound,	4	6		1 12
“ snuff,	per pound,	3	9		93
Varnish,	per gallon,	12	0		3 00
Vinegar,	per gallon,			3	6
Wine, under 26 degrees of proof spirit, gall.,		1	0		25
Wine, under 42 degrees and in bottles, gall.,		2	6		62

Having established its woollen, cotton and iron manufactures, and trained its labor into imitation of the skill of foreigners from the con-

continent, settled in England on invitation for instruction, or for refuge from persecution, England adjusted its policy to its condition and curtailed its tariff list, in proportion as it felt strong to defy competition at home and wage competition abroad.

Duties on wool exported were levied in England in 1275.

The exportation of wool was prohibited in 1337.

“Staples” (Marts) of wool established in Ireland 1343.

Seventy families of cloth-workers from the Netherlands settled in England in 1331.

Exportation of wool from Ireland prohibited in 1521.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1603 (the massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred 24th August, 1572, under Charles IX.), thousands of refugee Huguenots, the most skillful and industrious artisans in Europe, settled in England, particularly in London, where they became useful and profitable members of the national household.

The Lombards, also, settled in different parts of England, imparted instruction to the natives in the arts, and carried on a considerable internal and foreign trade.

IX.—HOW ENGLAND MADE IRELAND POOR AND TOOK ITS PLACE IN MARKET.

Under William III., 1689–1702, restrictions were imposed on Irish wool and woollens, whereby exportation from Ireland was prohibited, except to particular ports in England.

James Anthony Froude, a living English historian, in the third lecture in his course on Irish History, delivered in Philadelphia in 1872, took for his theme “The Penal Laws and their Consequences.”

After the abdication of James II., William III., Prince of Orange, ascended the throne in 1689, and reigned until 1702. Of the condition of Ireland under William III., Mr. Froude says :

“Two struggling manufactures had been already established, and
 “were already thriving there. The linen manufacture in the north
 “was Protestant, and the woollen manufacture was spread over the
 “country, and in this the Catholics shared. Every cabin had its
 “spinning-wheel, and every village in the country its sprinkling of
 “hand-loom weavers. * * * Industry had taken root ; it needed only
 “fair play to develop Ireland into the rival of England ; it needed
 “only justice and political equality to have made an end of Irish
 “misery. * * * Woollen weaving in Ireland was so prosperous that
 “the English manufacturers trembled for their supremacy. * * * The
 “manufacturers petitioned Parliament to lay such restrictions upon
 “Ireland and Irish trade as should destroy that trade forever. The
 “English Parliament regarded Ireland as hopeless, and conceived, in

“a sort of desperation, that the only chance was to keep her poor and helpless; and laws were passed which at once overwhelmed the woollen trade, and cut off, at a single blow, the support of one-half of these poor people. * * * One more touch still had to be added to the picture. * * * The English cloth manufacturers proposed at this time a monopoly of the woollen manufacture, the Irish weaving industry being at an end, but their cupidity was still unsatisfied. The advantage of England over the world lay in the quality of her wool. But the Irish wool was as good, or even better; so that the French, with one bag of Irish wool, with three of their own, could successfully compete with England. The Irish wool must therefore be secured to the English manufacturer, and on easy terms.

“The English Parliament passed an act that not a fleece of Irish wool should be exported to any other country except England. All must come to England, and at a fixed price fit to be paid for it—only sixpence a pound—while the French at the same time were willing to give three shillings a pound.” * * *

“Ireland, as she stood at the accession of George I.,” of the House of Hanover, which succeeded the House of Stuart in 1714, “so remained,” says Froude, “until her chains were broken by the revolt of the American Colonies,” in the reign of George III.

X.—ENGLAND'S OPPOSITION TO MANUFACTURES IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES:

To the development of manufactures in the American Colonies which declared themselves independent states in 1776, the government of England was particularly hostile, and it moreover restricted their direct maritime trade with foreign nations.

The King of England having imposed heavy duties on Virginia tobacco, the Virginia Company in 1621 sent all its tobacco to Holland. To prevent loss of revenue and diminution of trade, the King and Council who then and long afterwards regulated the affairs of the Plantations, issued an order enjoining:

“That no tobacco or other production of the Colonies should thenceforth be carried into any foreign ports, until they were first landed in England and the customs paid.”

This was the beginning of a series of restrictive acts enforced against the Colonies.

The Navigation Act of 1651, passed during the Cromwell Commonwealth, and adopted in its purposes by the English Parliament in 1660, soon after the restoration in the accession of Charles II. to the throne, with a view to the confinement of the Colonial export trade to the step-mother country, enjoined that:

“Sugars, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic and other dye-woods should only be carried to England, Ireland, or the Principality of Wales or to other British plantations.”

Having thus limited the *export* trade of the Colonies, Parliament in 1663 also limited the *import* trade in corresponding selfishness, declaring that :

“No commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into any of the King’s plantations in Asia, Africa or America, but what shall have been shipped in England, Wales or the town of Berwick [S. E. corner of Scotland] and in English built shipping, etc., whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, and carried directly thence to the said plantations.”

It was permitted, however, to take salt from Europe for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from certain places named, and provisions from Scotland for the plantations.

England sought to make its colonies feel their dependence, meantime that it supplied them with English woollens and other manufactures and commodities. And colonial trade meant trade with England, no matter how circuitous the route through England.

Next, free trade between the colonies was interdicted ; for in 1672 certain colonial products transported from one to another of the colonies were subjected to duties, including sugars, tobacco and cotton-wool.

These trade and navigation laws elicited opposition and fomented discontent to such extreme that their disregard was not uncommon.

Taxation on internal commerce between the colonies and prohibition from intertrade with the nations of Europe, except England, were factors in spreading colonial dissatisfaction, because the policy of England was to monopolize the trade of the colonies for its own profit, not considering the discomfort of its distant subjects.

The English merchants coveted the products of the colonies for maritime traffic, and the English manufacturers regarded the colonies as markets for the consumption of commodities, to be first handled or manipulated in England.

England same time contemplated with satisfaction the growth of colonial agriculture, because such growth was considered evidence of capability to buy and dispose of, in domestic ways, additional quantities of articles enhanced by British labor. But the colonists were not content to forego opportunity and restrict industry to the subjugation of wilderness and forest for the cultivation of raw materials, to the neglect of surrounding advantages in abounding facilities for diversified manufactures, to satisfy domestic demand and supply new valuables for intertrade.

This departure from the packhorse path marked out for the colonies to travel, by the London government, was obnoxious and disappointing to Parliament, which body had assumed to tell the colonies what to do and how and when and where to do it; for obedience to the commandments of Parliament was expected from the colonies of the crown, as if the colonies were subject to orders and destitute of option of choice, in the premises.

The preamble to the act of Parliament of 1663, already mentioned, set forth that :

“Whereas his majesty’s plantations beyond the seas are inhabited
“and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England”—
mark the import of these words—therefore, “for the maintaining a
“greater correspondence and kindness between them and keeping
“them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them [the colo-
“nies] more beneficial and advantageous unto it [the kingdom] in the
“further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen,
“vent of English woollens and other manufactures and commodities,
“rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap,
“and making this kingdom a staple not only of the commodities of
“these plantations but also of other countries and places for supply-
“ing them.”

The governors of the colonies were required to enforce this act, or be liable to removal from office, rendered incapable of the government of any colony, and forfeit one thousand pounds.

In the maintenance of the policy declared in the act of 1663, Charles II., Parliament in 1669, William III., provided that “no
“wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of their American plantations
“should be shipped, or even laden, in order to be transported from
“thence, to any place whatever.”

In 1719, George I., Parliament declared that “the erecting of
“manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon
“Great Britain.”

In 1731, George II., in consequence of complaints made to Parliament that the colonies were carrying on trade and encouraging manufactures, the House of Commons ordered the Board of Trade to inquire and report “with respect to laws made, manufactures set up,
“or trade carried on detrimental to the trade, navigation, or manufac-
“tures of Great Britain.”

In pursuance of this order it was reported that certain trades and manufactures were carried on in the colonies, to the injury and detriment of the navigation, trade and manufactures of the parent country.

In 1732, in consequence of the complaint of a London company of

hatters, Parliament restricted the manufacture of hats in the colonies, and prevented the exportation of hats from the colonies to foreign countries.

“In the year 1750 [see Pitkin’s History of the United States],
 “Parliament permitted pig and bar iron to be imported from the
 “colonies into London, duty free, but prohibited the erection or con-
 “tinuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or
 “any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for
 “making steel in the Colonies, under the penalty of two hundred
 “pounds.

“More effectually to carry this act into execution, every mill, en-
 “gine, plating forge and furnace was declared a common nuisance, and
 “the governors of the Colonies, on the information of two witnesses on
 “oath, were directed to cause the same to be abated within thirty days
 “or to forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds.”

The production of finished iron England reserved to itself; and as it is the labor put upon iron that enhances its cost, a ton of pig iron manipulated into hardware, cutlery, etc., is many times magnified in commercial value.

XI.—HOW LABOR UTILIZES THE EARTH’S CRUST.

Labor quarries the marble in its bed and sculptures the statue for the monument; blasts the rock which resists the flood and dresses it for walls and archways; hews the tree with the axe and saws the log into lumber for the carpenter and carver; removes the stump where the forest stood, for the plough which furrows the field in seed-time; moulds and burns clay into brick, pottery and porcelain; excavates mines and pits for minerals and fuels and the precious ores and metals.

For what is a city but a street-fissured mass of brick and stone, mortared and cemented; and wood and iron, and glass, paint and putty, all utilized in the erection of habitations and ware-houses; industrial hives and school-houses; hotels and hospitals; churches and law-courts; studios and libraries; infirmaries, prisons and asylums?

In brief, is not a city a host made up of regiments in built-up blocks between streets, with commanding brigadiers and drill-sergeants in chimney tops, whence there is a view of the multitude going to and fro on the pavements below, even though the heavens be obscured by smoke and cloud, as in the woods there are spaces for the denizens to roam between the trunks of the oaks, the chestnuts and the pines, whose branches weave a curtain over the spectator, which shuts out the sky? Nor is a city unlike a forest in other respects. For is not a city a solitude where the faces are strange, like a forest where the trees are mute?

The more elaborate is the work of human hands the greater the skill required and the heavier the expenditure incurred. A city, therefore, is invested capital materialized by labor, under roofs and within walls; and thus labor and capital are helpmates mutually dependent on co-operation, as two legs in locomotion of the body.

In the vicissitudes of fortune in a republic like the American Union, where the "battle of life" is a "free fight" for subsistence, wealth or preferment, relative positions are not infrequently reversed, owing to opportunities, efforts and circumstances, which advance the working-man to the front and retire the capitalist to the rear, whereby the poor man is lifted up and the rich man is bowed down.

In the United States the prizes are drawn from a revolving wheel of passing events or reached from a ladder rested against a fruit-bearing tree. To these wheels and these ladders the ways are all open. To be sure, there are some frauds where there are so many successes, but that is because man is not infallible and Justice blindfolded is hung in a picture-frame against the wall; whereas the goddess who holds the balance in her hand ought to be personated in marble and placed opposite the bench, with the face of the judge for a focus to magnifying lenses held level with her eyes.

The pyramids of Egypt are monuments commemorative of labor, and of nothing else authentically demonstrated, for their builder and his purpose are unwritten and unknown, and history and hypothesis are at fault concerning them, except that they are heroes of a war with time, which has secrets buried in the past, as nature has secrets reserved for the future; and herein are two providences to reward discovery, when knowledge shall have ended mystery and translated romance into a schoolmistress, learned on ruins and wise on rocks.

When Adam was banished from Eden, the earth was made a place for labor. What else it might have been, had Adam been proof against temptation, it is not worth while to inquire, where Adam and Eve are extant in their posterity, a fact showing that the sexes are still cast in the original mould, in the foundery of wedlock.

The costliest edifice on the earth is all labor, save the sum paid for leave to take the materials used, where found imbedded in the earth or growing on its surface; for labor comprises all exertion and effort, bodily and mental. Work done is labor performed, whatsoever its kind, for the versatile hand of man is expert with implement of industry, pencil in art, and pen in authorship and book accounts. Finger-power in brain and spindle-power in steam, are the two great motors in manual and made machinery.

The distinguishing characteristic of the American Republic is that its citizens are born free and equal in the law, with rights common to

all under the law, to traverse any one of all the roads open to occupation and opportunity for advancement within the law, which applies to all alike, save to the insane so pronounced, and who are thereafter cared for.

The subject, on the contrary, is born into the world where many of its possessions and most of its honors are already vested in a class and the posterity of that class, and thereby withheld from the people so deprived of their birthright, by confiscation for the benefit of kings, princes, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons and baronets, and their brothers and their uncles and their kin, who fill the steps between the royal stairhead and the untitled floor; and among whom are distributed commissions in the army and navy and sinecures and other places in the public service, where they hold the offices and enjoy the fees and salaries and honors; leaving the mass not on the pay-roll to reinforce the ranks and recruit the crews in a crisis, without prospect of promotion, except now and then in an exceptional case too conspicuous in merit to be overlooked or neglected, lest outcry should be raised and a storm of indignation let loose against party leaders in power. And as the majority "ins" are on the defensive, the aggressive minority "outs" are not slow to season a cry with a grievance.

The theory of a civil service may be admirable and its practice seem impartial; but government patronage is a booty which politicians in and out of Parliament, as in and out of Congress, take care to divide, in very large part among relations and friends.

Do not sly law judges distribute among favorites, court patronage in the auditing of estates? Do not unfit corporation directors and pay-roll principals practice nepotism in appointments and intrigue for their friends and their friends' friends? Does not a chief officer in any service, if himself morally obtuse, pack the subordinate places with his tools?

And as for examinations to test qualification: Do not law students unfitted for the legal profession gain admission to the Bar, by the score? Are not medical students graduated by the hundred, by a process less perfect than that which grain undergoes in a windmill, which winnows the chaff from the wheat?

No doubt the British civil-service machine, like other manuary machines, has been improved; but so long as the British aristocracy has legal and official existence, it will make the government support it, and the people will only get public patronage in crumbs. The City of Glasgow Bank failure, and its appalling consequences, is a sufficient testimony that the boasted perfection of British civil law is a sham, in the United Kingdom, whereas British practice in Africa and Asia is a reproach on civilization and a scandal to Christendom. Sodom

and Gomorrah were consumed by fire from heaven. Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar was the capital of the world, and originated idolatry and spread it broadcast; but Babylon is among the cities of the past, as London will be in its time and turn.

And, indeed, even where promotion is won in the British army ranks the untitled merit-winner is seldom welcomed in his new position, for there he finds castes, which if not envious of a brevet can be unpleasant to a new-comer, even though advanced for heroic service.

Man ought to be more than an automaton in a government made with the military sword and diplomatic pen, because man is made in the image of God, with a heart for a motor to move his members, a mind to engineer his actions, a conscience to sit in judgment on his motives, and a soul to illuminate his life.

That British subjects in the American Colonies would rest satisfied under invidious restrictions not imposed on subjects of the crown in feudal England, and submit to taxation without representation, was contrary to human nature; inasmuch as colonial life tended to make man self-reliant and conscious of his rights, in his dealings with men, independent of the fictions of rank.

Hence the Stamp Act passed in 1765 irritated him into opposition, nor did its repeal in 1766 dissipate his exasperation. And when in 1767 duties were levied on foreign importations of which *tea* was one, the embers of wrath which had smouldered in sparks, in ashes of patience consumed, finally burst into flame.

To forbid the colonist to do what his manhood commanded him to do, was to fire him with indignation and hurry him to vindication, first by petition for redress, next by resistance for independence.

The single battle of Hastings, fought October 14, 1066, where William of Normandy defeated the English and killed their king, Harold II., enabled William the Conqueror to seize and wear the crown of England, and reward his favorites with valuable parts of his conquest, divided into baronies.

But no single battle ever determined a result in America, for feudalism and its hereditaments could not be transplanted across the ocean to a wilderness, where the ground had to be reclaimed from nature, society organized, and industries established. - And the interference of the London Parliament to prevent the development of manufactures in the American Colonies, together with the determination exhibited to make the Colonies a source of revenue by taxation without representation, provoked remonstrance and aggravated controversy which logically led on, by successive steps, to resistance and revolution.

The transportation of convicts from England to Virginia and Maryland, whereby subjects deserving incarceration in the realm were turned

loose in the Colonies, is also a count full of aggravation in the indictment found by the Colonies against the crown.

“It was calculated (says Pitkin) that, about the year 1750, not less than from three to four hundred felons were annually brought “into the province of Maryland.”

As there had been brigands among the barons of England, possibly Parliament conceived that convicts discharged from English prisons into the Colonies might there establish a nobility by nomination of themselves to the crown for confirmation; but American Colonists were political economists, not serfs, and the convict element instead of rising to the political surface, like a fish after a fly, disappeared to the bottom, like coloring matter in a subsiding pool.

XII.—GREAT BRITAIN'S PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON IRON AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST FOREIGN VESSELS.

The manufacture of iron was an early art in England, first practiced by the Romans who invaded Britain under Julius Cæsar, fifty-five years before Christ, and who wherever they made conquest availed themselves of the mineral riches of the country conquered, and intersected the land with well-located roads, which are in use to this day.

IRON PRODUCED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Furnaces.	Tons of Pig Iron.
1740	59	17,350
1788	77	61,900
1796	121	124,789
1802	168	227,000
1820	260	400,000
1825	374	581,367
1840	402	1,396,400
1848	623	1,998,558
1852	655	2,701,000
1855		3,217,154
1864		4,767,951
1873	683 (in blast).	6,566,451
1877	532 (in blast).	6,608,664
1878	499 (in blast).	6,381,051
1879		6,200,000

How Great Britain fostered its iron trade and protected home production and home labor by duties on iron imported from foreign countries, is succinctly set forth in the following extract of an article in the London *Colliery Guardian* of September 22, 1876, headed:

“ENGLISH TARIFF ON IRON TILL TRADE WAS DEVELOPED.

“It is remarkable with how firm a grip this country held imported iron as a source of revenue. For many years that grip went on tightening. From 1782 till 1795, the duty on foreign bars was £2 16s. 2d. per ton. It rose to £3 4s. 7d. in 1797; from 1798 to 1802, it was £3 15s. 5d.; in two years it had got to £4 17s. 1d.; from 1806 to 1808 it stood at £5 7s. 5½d.; in the three years between 1809 and 1812, it was £5 9s. 10d.; and in the five years ending with 1818, it had been £6 9s. 10d. At this date a distinction was made in the interest of British shipping; for while thenceforward, till the close of 1825, the duty on foreign bars was £6 10s. [\$32 50], if imported in British ships, it was £7 18s. 6d. [\$39 62], if imported in foreign. Nor was this all: iron slit, or hammered into rods, and iron drawn down, or hammered, less than three-quarters of an inch square, was made to pay a duty at the rate of £20 per ton [\$100 00]; wrought iron, not otherwise enumerated, was taxed with a payment of £50 for every £100 worth imported; and steel, or manufactures of steel, were similarly loaded with a *fifty per ct. duty*. * * *

“Our manufacturing industry was getting so conspicuous that at a time when the duties imposed were the highest *the necessities of consumers were greatest*. The railway age had begun, and foreigners in the old, and our relations in the new world, were demanding of us goods made of iron and steel, which we could not supply with our own metals; and under the encouragement of the *duties on the raw materials which we enforced*, our would-be customers were beginning themselves to manufacture—had in truth entered upon that competitive course which has gone on developing up to the present day, and is now more felt than ever. * * * We were not, however, as a nation, sufficiently advanced in our new commercial policy to be prepared to give without taking. There must be reciprocity. The change from the high to the low duty must be effected with caution, and should not be made with respect to all countries at once. Besides, we had a dual object in proposing to remove these prohibitory duties; to remove an impediment out of the way of manufacturers at home, and to encourage prohibitory nations to enter upon the same course which we had determined to pursue.”

By a General Customs Act, which took effect January 5, 1826, the import duty on certain descriptions of iron and steel was reduced, and thus and then Great Britain began to trim and modify its tariff legislation, not on principle, but on calculation, with “British interests” always in view, front, flanks and rear.

Great Britain could not fill, with “its own metals,” all orders re-

ceived for “goods made of iron and steel;” for, though Great Britain contains large deposits of ores, there are varieties of ores of iron essential in the manufacture of particular qualities of metal, which it does not contain, but which it continues to import. Moreover, other nations were intent on the development of manufactures; and what Great Britain wanted at that time, and since at all times, was increase of customers. And having adhered to ultra protective duties till it had in operation a manufacturing plant of large capacity and easy duplication, it occupied the advanced position, at a propitious time; for the first *public* iron road was a pronounced success, and the extension of the iron road, it needed no prophet to foretell, would open a market for iron rails, locomotive and shop machinery and cars. Protection had stocked the British island with workshops, its industries were organized, its labor trained by continental tuition was potential, and so the kingdom was ready for the great occasion. But the affair was exclusively a matter of *trade*, in the English sense of that word, and principle had no part in it. And notwithstanding that Great Britain, since 1826, has passed numerous customs acts, and therein reconstructed its tariff, notably so in June 1846, when Sir Robert Peel carried his limited free trade measures, Great Britain still has a tariff, and continues to derive income from duties on importations.

Thus from 1782 to 1795 the duty per ton on

foreign bars was	£2 16s. 2d. — \$14 12
In 1797,	£3 4s. 7d. — \$16 14
From 1798 to 1802,	£3 15s. 5d. — \$18 85
From 1806 to 1808,	£5 7s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. — \$26 87
From 1809 to 1812,	£5 9s. 10d. — \$27 45
From 1813 to 1818,	£6 9s. 10d. — \$32 45

There was also a discrimination against foreign ships:

From 1818 to 1825, duty on foreign bars, if .

imported in British vessels,	£6 10s. 0d. — \$32 50
From 1818 to 1825, if imported in foreign vessels,	£7 18s. 6d. — \$39 62
Iron slit or hammered into rods, etc.,	£20 0s. 0d. — \$100 00
Wrought iron not otherwise enumerated,	fifty per cent. of value.
Steel and manufactures of steel,	fifty per cent. of value.

No wonder that the customers of Great Britain, which imposed the highest duties when “the necessities of consumers were greatest,” embarked in the manufacture of articles of iron, first for themselves, next for competitive account.

We are taught that “self-preservation is the first law of nature;” and this supreme law, applicable to individuals, is likewise applicable

to nationalities and races of men. Wherefore as Great Britain plotted to increase its profits according as certain of its customers appeared helpless in its eyes to resist its impositions, others of its customers were meantime devising plans for emancipation from commercial thralldom. And the fact that nowadays there are industries everywhere throughout the nations, is proof conclusive that where there is intelligent administration of public affairs, whatever the political system may be, the aim is to employ home labor in the manipulation of home staples; and this tends to narrow down the principal items in international intertrade to commerce in surplus productions of cereal, fibrous and mineral kind, for reciprocity is intersale of what is left over estimated domestic requirements, for interpurchase (out of the proceeds) of necessities and luxuries not produced at home.

XIII.—RAILROADS AND RAILS.

The first railroad opened to the public, for passenger and freight traffic, was the Darlington and Stockton Railroad, in England, inaugurated September 27, 1825.

Pioneership in railway construction and consequent improvement in overland transportation is a proud distinction which belongs to England; and good roads are not merely a modern but are a recent achievement. Macaulay, in his History of England, says:

“In the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of London were, for almost every practicable purpose, further from Reading [38 miles] than they are now from Edinburgh [339 miles], and further from Edinburgh than they are now from Vienna.”

Artificial roads of broken stone were devised by McAdam about 1818, and for his invention of the Macadamized road he received from Parliament ten thousand pounds; in 1827 he was made surveyor-general of the metropolitan roads.

RAILROAD STATISTICS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Year ended Dec. 31.	Miles in Operation.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Capital paid up.
1825	40				\$510,000
1840	1,435				206,958,170
1845	2,441				442,406,880
1850	6,621				1,201,353,730
1855	8,335	\$1,249,026,530	\$162,855,540	\$76,041,475	1,487,923,545
1860	10,433	1,443,458,055	194,193,705	102,998,875	1,740,650,635
1865	13,289	1,898,024,135	251,030,160	128,336,420	2,277,390,715
1870	15,537	2,200,847,275	312,561,485	136,134,605	2,649,543,365
1875	16,658	2,635,453,335	364,433,260	151,230,875	3,151,117,470
1878	17,333	2,896,938,156	435,945,340	159,842,280	3,492,725,770
1878	Miles in	E. & W. 12,229	S. 2,845	I. 2,259	Total 17,333

According to the *Railroad Gazette* of January 16, 1880, there were in the United States, December 31, 1879, railroads of the aggregate length of 86,263 miles. This railway mileage, in the American Union, surpasses the entire railway mileage in Europe, exclusive of Russia, which is of larger area in Asia than in Europe.

Prior to 1850 but a small quantity of rails had been made in the United States; consequently from the laying down of the first iron railway at Mauch Chunk in 1827, to the end of 1874, there were imported into the United States, from England and Wales, large quantities of railway iron.

To 1860 inclusive, the quantity imported was	2,625,403 tons.
From 1861 to 1874, both inclusive, 14 years,	2,239,149 tons.
Total to end of 1874,	<u>4,864,552 tons.</u>

As rails of different weights were used, from under fifty pounds per yard to over sixty pounds, it is safe to say that the 4,864,552 tons of foreign rails imported into the United States prior to 1875, were sufficient for fifty thousand (50,000) miles of railroad, single track!

The average price of American iron rails at Philadelphia, from 1848 to 1878, both years inclusive, was $\$60\frac{86}{100}$ per ton. And as very few rails were made in the United States before 1848, it may be said that the British had the American market to themselves, as indeed they also had it almost to themselves for years subsequent to 1848. Hence the average price of American rails for thirty-one years will serve to estimate, approximately, the cost of foreign rails imported into the United States to 1874, inclusive, since which date there is a marked decrease. Here is the sum:

4,864,552 tons at average of $\$60\frac{86}{100}$ per ton,		\$296,056,634
Add for difference between cost of steel rails over iron rails, from Bessemer's discovery to 1874, inclusive,		<u>30,000,000</u>

Probable cost of iron and steel rails imported to 1874, inclusive,		\$326,056,634
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The foreign market is the goose that laid England's golden eggs!

In 1875 there were imported 18,258 tons of foreign iron and steel rails; in 1876 only 287 tons of iron rails, none of steel; in 1877 the small quantity of 35 tons of steel rails, none of iron; in 1878 the minimum of 10 tons of steel rails, none of iron; in 1879, notwithstanding the extraordinary demand which commenced in September, when many furnaces were out of blast and mills were closed, the quantity of iron and steel rails imported into the United States, rose to only 44,210 tons (19,153 iron, 25,057 steel), against 1,000,000 tons of iron and steel rails made at home.

Value of iron and steel rails imported into the United States, from 1873 to 1879, both inclusive. For official year ended June 30 :

1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878	1879.
\$19,740,702	\$10,758,435	\$2,932,310	\$321,020	\$1,464	\$530	\$78,257

This is a decrease in the right direction, for the principal cost of rails is for labor in ore pits and coal mines, furnaces and rolling-mills ; and where the rails are foreign, the labor paid for of course is foreign, whereas if the rails be American, the money paid for labor is disbursed among citizen workmen and put into circulation at home. American iron-works create capital in the community ; imported rails create debts payable in a foreign country. Consider this vital difference, Messieurs Congressmen !

PROGRESS OF IRON RAIL MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES.

Tons made in calendar year

1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1866.
24,318	44,083	50,603	62,478	87,864	108,016	138,674	205,038	356,292	430,778
1867.		1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.		
Iron,	459,558	499,489	583,936	586,000	737,483	905,930	761,062		
Steel,	2,550	7,225	9,650	34,000	38,250	94,070	129,015		
Total	462,108	506,714	593,586	620,000	775,733	1,000,000	890,077		
1874.		1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.			
Iron,	584,469	501,649	467,168	332,540	322,890	400,000			
Steel,	144,944	290,863	412,461	432,169	559,795	606,397			
Total	729,413	792,512	879,629	764,709	882,685	1,006,397			

H. Bessemer's discovery of a new process for making steel by blowing hot air through molten pig iron, was announced at the meeting of the British Association held in Cheltenham in 1856. In 1860 steel rails made by the Bessemer process were laid down in the track of the London and North Western Railway. The Bessemer steel rail on trial, at once inspired confidence, and its substitution for iron followed on roads of large traffic, owned by companies of undoubted credit.

The Pennsylvania R. R. Co. and the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore R. R. Co. laid down English steel rails on their roads in 1864, in which year the price was \$150 gold, per ton.

If no Bessemer steel works had been erected in the United States, American railroad companies to this day would have been charged an ultra high price for the foreign article. Doctrinaires may asseverate and protest and promise to the contrary, but truth like a bell rings a convincing sound through the "porches of the ear" into the understanding.

Miles of railroads in operation in the United States at dates given, copied from the Railroad Manual, except for 1879, derived from the Railroad Gazette :

1830.	1835.	1840.	1845.	1850.	1855.	1860.
23	1,098	2,818	4,633	9,021	18,374	30,635
1865.	1870.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.
35,085	52,914	74,096	76,808	79,147	81,841	86,263

Investment in railroads in the United States, December 31, 1879, represented by stock and debt on 78,960 miles of roads reported on (leaving 2,881 miles not reported on), \$4,589,948,793.

The iron road, the iron ship, the iron bridge, the iron house, the locomotive and the marine engine, are all inventions and improvements of recent date; and in these developments of science and art utilized, progress is materialized to the senses, and its footprints are in the rocks and on the waters. The effect of the evolution of iron—an evolution of reality not controversy—has been to speed its production in electrical ratio.

XIV.—COMPARISON BETWEEN THE BRITISH KINGDOM AND THREE UNION STATES.

New York and Pennsylvania are larger in area and superior in natural resources to England, Wales, and Scotland, which jointly comprise the island of Great Britain; and Ohio is larger in area and superior in resources to Ireland. Thus three contiguous States of average size, considerably less than the *average* size of the thirty-eight States in the Union, surpass the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in territorial acres and mineral deposits, and are at least equal in fertility of soils for surface crops.

	Square Miles.	Census.	Population.		Square Miles.	Census.	Population.
England, ...	50,922	1871	21,495,131	New York, .	47,000	1870	4,382,759
Wales, ...	7,397	1871	1,217,135	Pennsylvania,	46,000	1870	3,521,951
Scotland, ...	31,324	1871	3,360,018				
					93,000		7,904,710
Total, Gr't Britain	89,643		26,072,284	Ohio, . . .	39,964		2,665,260
Ireland, ...	32,481	1871	5,411,416				
Isle of Man and							
Channel Islands,	394	1871	144,638				
Army, Navy, Mer-							
chant Seamen, .		1871	229,000				
Great Britain and							
Ireland, ...	122,518		31,857,338	Total,	132,964	1870	10,569,970

Population per square mile in England, ... 422
Population per square mile in New York, ... 93

As England has London on its east side and Liverpool on its west side, so has New York State New York city on its east side and Buffalo on its west side; and so has Pennsylvania Philadelphia at its east end and Pittsburgh at its west end, the first on the Atlantic-Delaware, the latter on the Mississippi-Ohio; and so, too, the State of Ohio has Cincinnati on its south or Ohio River side, and Cleveland on its north or Lake Erie side.

California is three times as large as England; Texas is more than twice the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and Dakota and Montana are each larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Massachusetts in territory surpasses Wales; Ohio, as already mentioned, in territory surpasses Ireland; Indiana in territory surpasses Scotland; and Illinois in territory surpasses England.

In 1870, in Massachusetts, the densest peopled *State*, there were 187 of population per square mile.

In England, in 1871, there were 422 of population per square mile.

If New York were populated as densely as England was in 1871,	
it would contain	19,834,000 inhabitants.
Illinois would contain	23,383,020 inhabitants.
Missouri would contain	27,577,700 inhabitants.
And California would contain	79,749,982 inhabitants.

How Ireland has declined since 1841, these figures attest:

	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.
Population of Ireland,	8,175,124	6,515,794	5,764,543	5,411,416

If Ireland had a redundant population in 1841, surely England has a redundant population at the present time, when even an average harvest yields only about half sufficient breadstuffs for the subsistence of its population, and its importations of both cotton and wool in bales for manipulation into textile manufactures exhibit a failing off, the first in bulk and weight, the latter in quantity and value.

And this proves that the Christian Nations which comprise the principal intertrading peoples, are intent on the utilization of their home staples for the employment and profit of home labor, herein demonstrating that the tendency of foreign intertrade is towards restriction to interchange of articles produced in surplus quantity out of agriculture and mines, and the surplus manufactures of domestic staples.

This is "the hand-writing on the wall" for England to read and London shrink from, because London cannot enlarge forever, and when it shall cease to grow it will begin to decay, and so succumb to the inevitable, like cities of the olden time, and modern cities in Italy and the Netherlands, each of which in turn expanded and grew strong as the gravitating centre of international intertrade moved towards it; and contracted and decayed as the centre of commercial gravity moved from it, to another port, provided with a new dial and magnetic needle,

pointing not to the pole of geography but to the pole of commerce in a new market, or to a new way to an old competing place.

What is London but the Babylon of the Euphrates reproduced on the Thames? What is London but a magnified Venice of the Adriatic, or Antwerp of the Scheldt, which, not omitting Genoa and Bruges, at different dates commanded a trade justly considered grand, for the riches it concentrated and the greatness it conferred, in the world then open to intercourse, mainly carried on with vessels and camels, the vehicles and carriers then in use, for transportation and travel?

The vastness of London is due to a number of causes, stimulating in immediate effect and fruitful in after consequences.

Thus London profited during the period of maritime commerce with sailing vessels, succeeding the discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope, in which epoch or era the insulated position of the British isle, anchored in the ocean, made it the outpost of the near-by continent of Europe, in its rear.

Another cause of London's growth was Cromwell's Navigation Act, passed when Holland was paramount in the ocean carrying trade. Another cause was the arrival there of immigrants skilled in the useful arts (of which the British then knew next to nothing), including many driven by persecution from France and the Netherlands. Another, and the one which overshadows all the others, was the growth and spread throughout the island, of British manufactures, under a protective tariff policy, wherein the duties were made high according as "British interests" required, and afterwards modified and made lower, and finally abolished altogether in particular cases, according as "British interests" dictated; but nevertheless there was a duty retained on wheat to 1869 inclusive, by which time the urban population of Great Britain had so outgrown its rural population that, foreign-grown food had to be imported, to subsist the subjects of the British crown; yes, that is the word, the British crown, a thing of gew-gaws, diamonds and jewels held together with hands directed by abler minds than the royal head burdened by its weight, but overpaid and recompensed more than a thousand fold, through usurped prerogatives and arrogated options.

Moreover, the presence of Parliament was of incalculable benefit to London, because there the law-makers of the realm had ready and steady conference with the master minds in manufactures, finance and foreign trade. Parliament made London virtually the proxy of England. London in England is Hamlet in the play.

We read of upper classes, middle classes, lower classes and criminal classes in Europe; but these four classes are divided into two classes

in America, where the criminal class is impartially composed of every offender against honesty from a law-judge to a road-tramp; and the other class which constitutes the states and the nation in functional authority, is impartially made up out of every authorized human pursuit, from treaty-negotiating and law-making statesmanship, to pin-peddling in the public streets.

A "map of the world on the Mercator Projection, exhibiting the American continent as its centre," with steamship pathways from San Francisco to Japan, China and Australia, and from Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans to Europe and elsewhere, dwarfs England in the panorama, it opens to contemplation.

XV.—THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES OF THE KINGDOM AND ITS PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF IMPORT AND EXPORT.

In the Statistical Appendix to the Official Catalogue of the U. S. International Exhibition of 1876, at Philadelphia, is a paper doubtless contributed by the Commission from Great Britain, in which appears the following table of the textile industries of the United Kingdom, in 1874:

	Number of Factories.	Hands employed.
Cotton, ...	2,655	479,515
Woollen, ...	1,800	135,606
Worsted, ...	692	142,097
Flax, ...	449	128,459
Silk, ...	818	45,559
Shoddy, ...	125	3,431
Hemp, ...	61	5,211
Jute, ...	110	37,920
Hair, ...	27	1,211
Hosiery and other factories, ...	557	27,667
Total, ...	7,294	1,006,675

As this matter of textile fabrics from fibrous staples is important and interesting, we add a later tabulation, copied from the *London Economist* of October 25, 1879:

"OUR TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.—There has been issued, this week, a "Parliamentary return of the number of factories authorized to be "inspected" under the Factory and Workshops Acts, the number of "persons engaged in each industry, and the number of spindles, looms "and other machines used. The following table summarizes the main "heads of information:

	Number of Factories.	Number of Spinning Spindles.	Number of Doubling Spindles.	Number of Power Looms.	Persons Employed.
England and Wales—					
Cotton Factories, . . .	2,579	38,489,865	4,150,444	489,960	451,508
Woollen “ . . .	1,412	2,738,381	251,199	50,249	109,702
Worsted “ . . .	636	2,049,374	434,605	76,149	117,866
Flax “ . . .	101	190,808	28,439	4,081	14,988
Jute “ . . .	12	23,762	1,407	1,057	4,961
Other “ . . .	1,449	928,325	177,805	15,519	78,678
Total, ...	6,189	44,420,515	5,043,899	636,015	777,703
Scotland—					
Cotton Factories, . . .	89	961,259	526,594	22,265	29,775
Woollen “ . . .	246	559,021	62,013	6,284	22,667
Worsted “ . . .	55	47,158	21,375	11,244	13,012
Flax “ . . .	155	265,263	18,495	16,756	37,476
Jute “ . . .	99	183,056	5,855	10,009	30,401
Other “ . . .	31	13,420	11,120	211	2,882
Total, ...	675	2,029,177	645,432	66,769	136,213
Ireland—					
Cotton Factories, . . .	6	76,796	1,732	2,686	1,620
Woollen “ . . .	74	40,205	4,942	411	1,975
Worsted “ . . .	2	288	134		47
Flax “ . . .	144	808,695	18,048	19,611	56,342
Jute “ . . .	6	5,858	320	222	992
Other. “ . . .	9	6,538	39		654
Total, ...	241	938,380	25,125	22,930	61,630
Total United Kingdom, . .	7,105	47,388,072	5,714,456	725,714	975,546

“Of the total number of persons engaged, 374,199 are males and 601,347 females, these totals comprising 51,186 boys and 59,399 girls making half-time.”

The 74 woollen factories in Ireland, it will be perceived, employed only 1,975 persons, equal to 26 for each establishment, an average indicative of a small out-put capacity; whilst the 97 factories remaining after the subtraction of the 144 flax factories, employed only 5,288 persons, equal to an average of 54 persons for each factory exclusive of flax; and as the population of Ireland in 1871 was 5,411,416, it follows that the 5,288 persons employed in textile manufactures other than flax, comprised only one person out of every 1,023 persons, or less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the population.

Apart from agriculture, which is oppressed with too heavy land rent, Ireland has no distinguishing industry worthy the name of industry applied to persons employed, except flax raised, and woven into linen.

Truly is Ireland an oppressed appendage of the British realm, and most truly are the Irish a subject people, whose lands were confiscated and whose wool industry was destroyed to enrich favorites of the

dynasty in authority in London, and so give England a monopoly of woollen manufactures.

The following statement of the value of the ten principal articles of food imported into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the years 1877 and 1878, shows how dependent is that title-burdened, dollar-proud power on the harvests of other climes for provisions, wherewith to subsist its redundant population; also for cotton, wool, wood, silk, and wine:

	1877.	1878.
Wheat, ...	\$164,365,000	\$133,154,000
Sugar, ...	131,886,000	101,234,000
Tea, ...	60,678,000	63,651,000
Indian Corn, ...	47,885,000	61,783,000
Butter, ...	46,361,000	48,313,000
Oats and barley, ...	50,525,000	49,086,000
Bacon and hams, ...	33,466,000	41,850,000
Flour, ...	33,067,000	33,000,000
Coffee, ...	37,850,000	29,223,000
Cheese, ...	23,138,000	24,003,000
Total of ten articles of food, ...	629,221,000	585,297,000
Cotton, ...	172,477,000	162,932,000
Wool, ...	117,626,000	110,677,000
Wood and timber, ...	98,128,000	68,113,000
Silk manufactures, ...	62,285,000	61,702,000
Wine, ...	34,878,000	29,179,000
All other articles, ...	802,255,000	761,152,000
Total, ...	\$1,916,880,000	\$1,779,052,000

The importation of wheat and flour for 1879 was 70,100,000 cwts., valued at \$199,200,000, exceeding any previous year. The area of land under wheat in 1869 was 3,982,000 acres. In 1879 it was 3,056,000 acres. Diminution in ten years 926,000 acres.

The principal articles of exportation from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the value of the same, for the years 1877 and 1878, were as under, to wit:

	1877.	1878.
Cotton manufactures, ...	\$277,190,000	\$257,108,000
Cotton yarn, ...	59,259,000	63,209,000
Total cotton manufactures, ...	336,449,000	320,317,000

	1877.	1878.
Woollen manufactures, . . .	\$84,287,000	\$81,274,000
Woollen yarn, ...	17,540,000	19,000,000
Total woollens, ...	<u>101,827,000</u>	<u>100,274,000</u>
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, ...	97,744,000	89,095,000
Coals, coke and cinders, . . .	38,127,000	35,580,000
Machinery and mill work, . .	32,602,000	36,406,000
Linen and jute yarns and manufactures, ...	28,353,000	22,959,000
Haberdashery and millinery, .	18,507,000	19,275,000
Hardware and cutlery, . . .	16,213,000	15,990,000
Apparel and "slops," . . .	13,773,000	15,333,000
Total of seven items, ...	<u>245,319,000</u>	<u>234,638,000</u>
All other articles, ...	283,030,000	280,798,000
Cotton manufactures and yarn brought down, ...	336,449,000	320,317,000
Woollen manufactures and yarn brought down, ...	<u>101,827,000</u>	<u>100,274,000</u>
Total domestic exports, . . .	<u>\$966,625,000</u>	<u>\$926,027,000</u>

Foreign imports exported and colonial imports exported are not included in the foregoing, compiled from "Commercial Relations."

The total imports and exports of Great Britain and Ireland for the last two calendar years, as given in a Supplement to the London *Economist* of January 17, 1880, were as under, to wit:

	1878.	1879.
Total imports, ...	\$1,843,048,050	\$1,810,638,705
Total exports, ...	964,244,570	957,518,360
Imports over exports, ...	<u>\$878,803,480</u>	<u>\$853,120,345</u>

Since March 15, 1879, Canada has had a protective tariff, and so, too, has one or more of the Australian colonies a tariff for the protection of domestic manufactures; from which local enactments for industrial independence of London imperialism, of course success will follow, for a Canadian is not an Englishman, an Australian is not an Englishman, and neither of these twain can be a nationalist, till Canada shall have been made a republic or annexed to the United States, and the Australias shall have been united in an union independent of royalty in Europe.

A Welshman is not an Englishman, but a Briton; a Scotchman is not an Englishman, but a Briton; an American citizen is an American citizen everywhere, owing no allegiance outside of his own country; nor will a Canadian, not a monarchist, cockney or snob, be content till he take rank as an American citizen; whilst, as for the Australian subject, his future is foreshadowed in citizenship in his own to be independent country, owing allegiance to no distant dynasty, bound to obedience to none but home-made laws.

What do you import and pay for, to satisfy the demands of home consumption, and what do you produce at home in excess of domestic consumption and send abroad and get money or credit for, in international intertrade?

These are twin questions in political economy. And the fact that the United Kingdom is debtor in account current with foreign nations, bodes no good to the over-peopled island which has its court in London, fifty-six miles up the River Thames, from the North Sea, and three thousand over-water miles from the foreshadowed future centre of commerce and finance in America, a "promised land" to Britons, Irishmen, and Germans, to all Celts and all Teutons, as Canaan was to the Israelites in Egypt.

XVI.—FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR TWENTY YEARS.

It is not alone to the United States of America that the exports from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland show a reduction, but the same is true of its exports to nineteen other nations, scattered over all the continents.

Thus in a table in the London *Economist* of July 12, 1879, it is shown that the diminution in exports of the products of the Kingdom in 1878, compared with 1872, to the twenty countries named, was (\$5 to £1), ... \$349,350,000

The increase in exports of the products of the Kingdom in 1878, compared with 1872, to nine countries named, was 17,000,000

Falling off in exports in six years, ... \$332,350,000

This totalized decline in exports is in excess of the entire export trade of many, indeed of most foreign countries, including Austria-Hungary, Italy and China.

From the annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Hon. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., on the Foreign Commerce of the United States, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879:

"The following table exhibits the combined value of *merchandise and*

specie imported into and exported from the United States. It affords an expression of the aggregate foreign commerce of the country :''

Value of merchandise, and of gold and silver coin and bullion, imported into, and exported from, the United States, from 1860 to 1879, inclusive—specie values.

Year ended June 30—	EXPORTS.		TOTAL EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	TOTAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.	EXCESS OF EXPORTS OVER IMPORTS.	EXCESS OF IMPORTS OVER EXPORTS.
	Domestic.	Foreign.					
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1860	373,189,274	26,933,022	400,122,296	362,166,254	762,288,550	37,956,042	
1861	228,699,486	20,645,427	249,344,913	335,650,153	584,995,066		86,305,240
1862	210,688,675	16,869,466	227,558,141	205,771,729	433,329,870	21,786,412	
1863	241,997,474	26,123,584	268,121,058	252,919,920	521,040,978	15,201,138	
1864	243,977,589	20,256,940	264,234,529	329,562,895	593,797,424		65,328,366
1865	201,558,372	32,114,157	233,672,529	248,555,652	482,228,181		14,883,123
1866	420,161,476	14,742,117	434,903,593	445,512,158	880,415,751		10,608,565
1867	334,763,005	20,611,508	355,374,513	417,831,571	773,206,084		62,457,058
1868	353,135,875	22,601,126	375,737,001	371,624,808	747,361,809	4,112,193	
1869	318,082,663	25,173,414	343,256,077	437,314,255	780,570,332		94,058,178
1870	420,500,275	30,427,159	450,927,434	462,377,587	913,305,021		11,450,153
1871	512,802,267	28,459,899	541,262,166	541,493,708	1,082,755,874		231,542
1872	501,285,371	22,769,749	524,055,120	640,338,766	1,164,393,886		116,283,646
1873	578,938,985	28,149,511	607,088,496	663,617,147	1,270,705,643		56,528,651
1874	629,133,107	23,780,338	652,913,445	595,861,248	1,248,774,693	57,052,197	
1875	583,141,229	22,433,624	605,574,853	553,906,153	1,159,481,006	51,668,700	
1876	575,620,938	21,270,035	596,890,973	476,677,871	1,073,568,844	120,213,102	
1877	632,804,962	25,832,495	658,637,457	492,097,540	1,150,734,997	166,539,917	
1878	707,771,153	20,834,738	728,605,891	466,872,846	1,195,478,737	261,733,045	
1879	715,895,825	19,541,057	735,436,882	466,073,775	1,201,510,657	269,363,107	

For the last six consecutive years, to June 30, 1879, the excess of exports over imports was, \$926,570,068.

This is a prodigious amount, but it will be very much increased by the addition of the excess of exports over imports at the end of the current fiscal year, to wit, June 30, 1880.

The United States is a creditor nation, supreme over every other country in its dealings with nations over-peopled and over-burdened with debt, and nations groaning under despotism and standing armies.

XVII.—FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

From the report of the State Department "upon the Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries, for the year 1878."

FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

Imports and Exports of Merchandise.

BALANCE OF TRADE.				
Year.	Imports.	Exports, Domestic and Foreign.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.
1864	\$1,326,267,000	\$1,033,334,000	\$292,933,000	
1865	1,317,410,000	1,063,524,000	253,886,000	
1866	1,435,110,000	1,194,530,000	240,580,000	
1867	1,341,290,000	1,097,403,000	243,887,000	
1868	1,432,213,000	1,107,002,000	325,211,000	
1869	1,435,936,000	1,151,893,000	284,043,000	
1870	1,473,850,000	1,196,234,000	277,616,000	
1871	1,607,733,000	1,378,175,000	229,558,000	
1872	1,716,717,000	1,520,003,000	196,714,000	
1873	1,804,454,000	1,511,485,000	292,969,000	
1874	1,798,604,000	1,446,579,000	352,025,000	
1875	1,797,031,000	1,368,635,000	428,396,000	
1876	1,823,254,000	1,247,937,000	575,317,000	
1877	1,916,879,000	1,226,400,000	690,479,000	
1878	1,779,052,000	1,180,028,000	599,024,000	
	\$24,005,800,000	\$18,723,162,000	\$5,282,638,000	
	18,723,162,000			
Total excess of im- ports in 15 years,	\$5,282,638,000		\$5,282,638,000	

The progressive increase of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and other nations, will be seen in the subjoined skeleton exhibit of the value of imports into Great Britain from all parts of the world, and the value of exports from Great Britain to all parts of the world, compiled from sundry sources :

Calendar Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Excess of Exports.
1750	\$36,447,910	\$50,654,955		\$14,207,045
1775	74,079,275	81,631,815		7,552,540
1800	152,853,025	190,600,600		37,747,575
1820	182,572,820	258,665,565		76,092,745
1830	231,226,205	333,677,225		102,451,020
1840	310,020,000	487,013,630		176,993,630
1851	517,897,910	951,989,050		434,091,140
1861	1,087,425,120	798,162,490	\$289,262,630	
1871	1,793,099,000	1,542,254,000	250,845,000	
1879	1,810,638,705	957,518,360	853,120,345	

XVIII.—WHAT IS SCIENCE AND WHAT IS ART?

It is a common expression to say the “science” of this, the “science” of that, and the “science” of something else, as for instance the “science” of hair-cutting, the “science” of corporation book-keeping, etc.; but a little observation and reflection will serve to

demonstrate and realize that not a small proportion of so called "science" is in truth *art*. Thus the practice of medicine is an art, else doctors would not differ as they do, in diagnosis and prescription; whereas anatomy is a science, because the bones in the human framework have a nomenclature which is in uncontroverted acceptance among surgeons; and physiology is a science, because the vital organs in the human body have functions which are understood by physicians to actuate the supreme flesh-clad machine, with motive power supplied by blood from the heart and breath in the lungs.

Astronomy is a science, because if the movements of the heavenly bodies were not describable, eclipses could not be foretold; nor the changes made in the seasons by the sun be anticipated and provided for, as in summer and autumn for winter and spring; nor the time of high tide and low tide, sunrise and sunset, be published in advance, and moreover there would be no almanac.

Dynastic government is an art and kingcraft is necromancy; and as duped believers in witchcraft attributed supernatural powers to astrologers, sorcerers and seers, so superstition and ignorance served commanders and courtiers to fill thrones with royal pretenders to divine rights, albeit some who were made kings had red hands and bad hearts; but the axe, the guillotine and the gun, each impartially attests that a crown-wearer brought to trial and to judgment undergoes decapitation and suffers quietus like any other life-lighted tabernacle of clay; whereby the pretension to "divine right" to reign and rule and name a successor is fallacy and usurpation, which may be exposed and punished.

For, after all, what are legitimate kings and hereditary princes, more than other mortals cast in the moulding-box of the human body in the Adamite pattern of the race, and of which God made the first model in his own image? King and peasant are alike born of woman, nor is wedlock holier in the palace than the tenant-house; and beatitudes and imperfections are found promiscuously in society as beauties and blemishes are discoverable in a foundery where iron and bronze and brass are run hot into moulds to crystallize into articles of art.

XIX.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Political economy is an art, whereby governments strive to make income from revenue equal to outgo for expenses in ordinary times, through the operation of laws founded on situation, necessity and circumstance. And hence the imposition of taxes—a plural of multitude of meanings—is a work of discrimination, for ability and willingness to pay have a limit; and it is the interest alike of a dynasty and every other form of administration to cultivate a diversity of home occupa-

tions and develop native resources in domestic manufactures, so to compass two ends, in employment of population and emancipation from dependence on foreign nations, for clothing and food and articles for ornament and use. In a word, to keep down to a minimum, imports from foreign countries.

Thus a nation that grows cotton in fields and wool on flocks, and contains deposits of metallic ores and mineral fuel, should naturally endeavor to establish cotton and woollen manufactures at least equal to the consumption of the domestic market; and same time export cotton fibre in bales and wool fibre in bales to foreign countries, for elaboration into textile articles in their own works, if possessive of machinery and fuel, and provided with skilled labor.

And a nation that abounds in metallic ores and in coal, hard and soft, including coal for gas and coal for coke, can make machinery and supply steam-power at minimum cost; such a nation, too, can attract immigration, develop mechanical ingenuity and build up home industries for the utilization of fibrous and mineral productions.

The everlasting union of "indestructible states" jointed like the bones in a living body, exports cotton fibre to Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, South America, and indeed to most of the nationalities that intertrade.

But why England, greedy, grasping, never-sated, never-satisfied England, that Julius Cæsar annexed to the Roman Empire, and William the Norman conqueror escheated to himself and portioned off among his barons; England that hungers in Africa and Asia for more possessions and aspires for universal dominion in commerce; England which has poison in its fangs, and bites and bribes and smiles with deadly selfishness; why should England descend from its belfry built high for outlook downward on Asiatics and Africans, whom it shoots and hangs contrary to established usage in warfare, and rummage its property-room in its show-house, thence to send hither, in character parts, across the Atlantic Ocean three thousand miles wide between the shores of an old continent and a new world, members of Parliament and others, some big as whales and prodigal of sugared words, some small as sparrows but not too little for spy-glasses, to ask Americans not to do as Britons did to establish their own industries, but do as Britons wish for their own sake? This consolidated query Time (which is older than Adam and never halts on its course that leads on to the end of the circle, thus to complete the period and fulfil the mission of the planet so immense to man though a mote of matter in the universe), will answer as it journeys along, to measured step, bearing its scythe, a symbol understood, and reading the decrees of nature in its looking-glass.

What is the mortal part of man, but a morsel for the worm, which, however, comes not into possession till after the soul has served out its term in a preparatory school, made up of pupils who graduate to sink or mount, according as they load themselves with sins or provide themselves with pinions?

**XX.—IS TITLE PATENTED, TORPEDO BALLOT-PROOF?
TURKEY, THE TRANSVAAL, ZULULAND, AFGHANISTAN.**

The sequence of assumption is disappointment, of arrogance the final effect is humiliation. For the bluster of the British who cares except Africans in fig-leaves and savages without firearms? To be sure, the Briton has courage and in measure large as the bravest among mortals; but the dynastic Briton, not the British worker in cotton, wool, and the metals, if not morally obtuse, has ceased to be nice, and will swallow the oyster though it be tainted and the egg even if stale.

His bowels are not moved by compassion, nor does his digestion, wherein he excels the shark, require cathartic stimulation, for his belly is never so full that it will not admit a little more; his lust for dominion is insatiable, and justice is not a law of his ambition, where there is land for loot in Asia, Africa, and the South Sea Islands; his conscience travels on a ticket-of-leave, and the pocket in his trousers is dialled in the palm of his hand.

His chariot is Juggernaut, his Orissa the United Kingdom, his Hindoos the serfs of land barons, the tenantry of manor-lords, and the subjects of the crown, deprived of civil rights that make a man, and which citizens inherit free.

Poverty and hunger cloud the hope of the British poor, who need a Moses to lead them out of serfage in feudaldom to a Canaan where land is subdivided among proprietary tillers, and equality prevails in the distribution of elective situations; and where estates are not entailed, titles are not transmittable, and merit is the test of promotion and reward, supreme over inherited rank and primogenitive riches.

Let England level down its landed aristocracy, its titled gentry, and its stags and hounds of fashion, salary-fed in the public service, and level up its worthy millions in its toiling masses to a causeway graded to a datum line for all to travel, on the same condition, like ticket-holders in a railway train, from a depot of departure to a destination.

No monopoly is a wholesome motto. There is no monopoly in ideas, for brain matter is free soil, wherein a head-owner may cultivate his taste for letters and market his intellectual productions.

And surely there should be no monopoly in privileges, opportunities, offices and honors, anywhere on the earth.

In America, colossal fortunes, like drift-snow banks in a change of weather, melt down after the accumulator's death, into as many streams to society's commingled sea as there are legal heirs, each knowing that in the course of nature his Nile will rise and irrigate his patch of expectation; but where estates are entailed, the glacier, which is the congealment of sundry winters, thaws only on the outside, and trickles in a rut in the road, distributing nothing over the fields, to satisfy the flocks that hunger for grass and cannot browse on thistles.

Having a commercial mind, the diplomatic Briton hucksters, promiscuously and indiscriminately, goods and statutes, treaties, promises, principles and professions, everything to expediency.

Review British diplomacy and foreign practice since Great Britain refused to sign the Berlin Memorandum, dated May, 1876, which the emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria officially approved, and which was framed to avert, and would have averted the war between Russia and Turkey, declared by Russia on the 24th April, 1877, in Championship of the Christian populations in European Turkey. And what does the record show in Asiatic Turkey, the Transvaal, Zululand and Afghanistan?

Is there anything in history surpassing the heartlessness of Great Britain's abandonment of the Christians in European Turkey and its false friendship for the Turks, whom it encouraged to resist the advice and pressure of the three emperors, and whom it afterwards cheated out of Cyprus, and finally bullied for reforms in Asia Minor?

Is there anything in history more selfish and less honest than the extinction and absorption of the independent and peaceful Republic of Transvaal, in South Africa, by Great Britain in 1877, and its subsequent hypocritical treatment of the Boers, to whom in 1879 Sir Bartle Frere "held the word of promise to the ear," when "every British soldier in South Africa was needed to fight Cetywayo," for Sir Garnet Wolseley "to break it to the hope," after Cetywayo had been made a prisoner and the Zulu war was terminated?

After his capture, Cetywayo, king of the Zulus, said the English "shot us to make us Christians." The British government as a missionary society to proselyte Africa and Asia, has substituted the shotgun and hanging-rope for the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament.

The British fought the Chinese in 1840-41, and compelled China to admit India opium into its ports.

Bishop Colenso, in a letter written home to England in reprobation of the inhumanity and baseness of the British towards the Zulus, de-

scribes the process whereby the English general, Lord Gifford, discovered the hiding place of Cetywayo.

“Five Zulus were taken prisoners and questioned severally as to the place where the king was hiding. They persisted in declaring that they did not know where he was. Whereupon they were all flogged, with what right let Englishmen judge. They bore their flogging, and still refused to betray their king’s hiding place, and two of them managed to escape. Then the scheme was adopted which had been practiced once before in this war, of taking them blindfolded, each to a separate spot, when two gun shots were fired, and each of course supposed that the other two were killed. And so the secret was obtained from one or more of them.”

The correspondent of the London *Daily News* thus wrote just before the battle of Ulundi:—

“Buller is scarcely the man to commit any default in any enterprise which experience proves to be so eminently congenial to his nature. Reaching the bed of the white Umvolosi on the first evening, by daylight on the second morning he engaged in the annexation of cattle. The people in charge of these made a feeble resistance, and were not warriors, but policy demanded that a certain number of them should die for the sake of creating an impression, and about a dozen of them fell under the fire of Buller’s men. Some three hundred cattle were captured, also a man and a number of women.”

On this extract the London “Capital and Labor” newspaper remarks:—“Unarmed peasants in charge of cattle are shot down ‘for the sake of creating an impression!’ It is usually supposed that soldiers throwing down their arms in acknowledgment of defeat receive quarter, but the war correspondent tells how a noble British officer slew the fugitive Zulus as if he were pig-sticking!”

Extract of an article on “Martial Law in Cabul,” by Frederick Harrison, in the London *Fortnightly Review* of Dec. 1, 1879:—

“In spite of the conspicuous coolness and generosity of our soldiers the fact remains that they never meet their equals or a civilized foe. A generation has passed since Englishmen met in fight white men, and even those were hardly of European civilization. They never fight under the rules and conditions of modern war. They hardly ever fight with a foe whom they treat as an honorable foreign enemy. They are forever engaging in battues of black skins, red skins, brown skins, ‘niggers,’ or savages of some kind. Their enemy are almost always ‘rebels,’ or ‘mutineers,’ or ‘insurgents,’ or ‘marauders,’ with whom they do not pretend to hold the conventional laws of warfare. Our officers, therefore, are almost always partly execu-

“tioners and partly criminal police as well as soldiers. They not only use their swords, but they have ever in their train ropes and halters, gibbets and cats, and all the apparatus of a Russian army in Poland. They seldom fight without killing prisoners in cold blood after all resistance has ceased. They blow them from guns by platoons; they hang them from the first tree; they shoot them in squads; they flog them by scores; they burn villages by wholesale; their men knife wounded men (at least they boast that they do); they hold drumhead courts-martial on priests and officials; they proclaim martial law at their own free will. . . .

“The British army, of all armies in the world, is the one which is most often hanging, shooting, or punishing prisoners of war.”

The censorship of English functionaries over war correspondents is lucidly described by Archibald Forbes, an able pen-painter of battles and campaigns, in *The Nineteenth Century* for January, 1880.

XXI.—THE BEACONSFIELD JINGO-CLAQUER. MORE ALABAMAS.

Having a covetous eye on Afghanistan, it was not difficult for Great Britain to originate and amplify a grievance against the Ameer at Cabul, and follow the charge with a military force, organized for invasion and occupation. How Major Cavagnari, the British Envoy, entered Cabul on the 24th of July, 1879, and how he was killed in September, and what has since taken place in dramatic acts, is matter of familiar record to newspaper readers; but what more will be evolved out of this Afghan movement for the extension of the frontier of India towards St. Petersburg and Constantinople, a movement which, by the way, may have the Redan back-step in it, we must wait on diplomacy or war, or both, to uncover, in the coming days; and as diplomacy is of uncertain issue and boundaries made by war are not fixable beforehand with the pen, curiosity must get behind patience and wait.

When the Berlin Memorandum failed, because Great Britain would not coöperate in pressure on Turkey, to make reforms in concessions to its outraged Christian populations, and Russia declared war against Turkey by proclamation dated April 24, 1877, no one knew that history was pregnant with the Bulgaria which was born in the treaty of San Stefano of 19th February, 1878, whereby, in addition, three states wrested from Turkey were made independent powers.

The extraordinary and triumphant manner in which the Russians, despite the rigors of winter and the desperation of the Turks, fought their way through the passes of the Balkan Mountains in the winter of 1878, and the treaty of San Stefano which electrified three and stupefied two European powers in the spring of 1878, reflect a lustre on the arms and a finish on the diplomacy of Russia that the Berlin

Congress of the summer of 1878 could not cover up, nor get over nor around; but which it did modify mainly in the interest of Austria, and to the disadvantage of Christians, and the shame of Christendom as Christ's community, in the malicious and jealous partition of Bulgaria by the erection of Eastern Roumelia into a Turkish province, which was conceived and born within thirty days, about the period required to incubate a reptile's egg, with borrowed artificial heat.

Obviously the theory of the situation framed by Great Britain when it withheld its signature from the Berlin Memorandum, was a conception of spurious statesmanship; and if war ensue between Great Britain and Russia, no precaution which Beaconsfield may plan beforehand, will save from capture sundry of the English ships employed in maritime commerce around the globe. To pretend otherwise is to deny that man is an imitative creature, and also to ignore the fact that new inventions and improved weapons are incorporated into the tactics of war purposely to destroy combatants and compel the party hurt most to succumb first, to obtain peace. England's "little game" will be played against England, for a large stake against a small hazard.

Yes, yes. The British-built and British-crewed rebel privateers, Alabama, Shenandoah, Georgia and Florida, have passed into the minutes and the award of the Geneva Board of Arbitration, but not thence into the oblivion of forgetfulness; for Great Britain still profits from its indirect raid on American commerce during the rebellion; and Russia is not blind to where her enemy is vulnerable, and the prospective prizes are British ships and their cargoes, easy of capture between ports wide apart.

It was stated in Parliament by Lord Panmure that the loss of the British army by death in the Crimea from September 19, 1854, to March 31, 1856, not including the *naval* arm of the service, was 217 officers, and 19,314 men; incapacitated men discharged, to be added, 2,873. The Crimean war did not rob Russia of much, nor pay England in any aspect of the case. The Crimean war only touched Russia on its edges. In Bessarabia the frontier is again on the Danube. Kars is a Russian fortress and Batoum is a Russian port.

In the siege of Sebastopol by the allied powers the French gained the Malakoff, and the British failed twice at the Redan, which was not taken. Moreover, only that part of Sebastopol which the Russians evacuated, was occupied by the allies.

And as at Inkerman the Russians in superior force attacked the English camp and were driven back, but not pursued, French aid having arrived as opportunely at Inkerman as Prussian aid arrived on the field of Waterloo, so at New Orleans did General Andrew Jackson with six thousand men, chiefly raw recruits, defeat Sir Edward

Pakenham, who had fourteen thousand men, mostly veteran British troops, in his disastrous assault. The battle, says the highest authority, is not always with the (numerically) strong.

The French have not duplicated the first Napoleon, nor have the English developed a Wellington since Waterloo. But Von Moltke is more than a reproduction of Blucher.

That Lord Beaconsfield had Burmah in his programme for the year 1879, there is testimony extant to justify assertion and secure belief; but matters in the Transvaal country, in Zululand, and in Afghanistan, together with the uncertainty in perturbed European Turkey, appear to have admonished the Beaconsfield ministry that public opinion, too often tampered with, might be aroused, and in its anger cause the tory cabinet loss of office. Therefore Burmah was not set upon for concession, indemnity, or partition. But this forbearance was forced by circumstances, and is not due to repentance.

Lord Beaconsfield's ambition has his imagination for its wings, and his conscience does not weigh as heavy on his fancy when it soars, as a news item on tissue paper borne by a carrier pigeon in its flight; nor does any moral sense move the humanity latent, not normal, in his nature and inaccessible to sympathy or justice, where he sees a way into a new market for India opium or British goods; or a new acquisition in tribes, or herds, or flocks, or fisheries, or forests; or a new flora for a hot-house or a window garden, or a new fauna for furred robes or decoration feathers; or a new something else, no matter where, whether under the sun, "limited" to the planetary system as organized, or in the milky way not yet portioned among the powers; no matter what so that it be not a donkey nor a dog, but an Esquimaux, a cannibal, or a gorilla, available to swell the census and make the jingo cheer.

The jingo idol in statesmanship is typified in the gold beater, who hammers out a guinea into sheets of wondrous *thinness* for gilding picture frames, sign-boards, baubles, and the backs of books.

The Briton boasts of empire, and apostrophizes or rhapsodizes the sun, because it "never sets on Her Majesty's dominions"; but the Briton, notwithstanding, has only to cross St. George's channel to find in Hibernia a member of the United Kingdom anxious for a divorce from the bonds of political fellowship. And in Hindoostan, if British jurisdiction were not enforced by an army of occupation officered and leavened with subjects sent thither, it would not be tolerated a day.

In past time the Roman citizen bore the proudest distinction among men, under government. In present time American citizenship is the summit of the political world, not rounded like the physical world (which holds all its indwellers at equal distance from its common centre

to which they all gravitate under the same law), but a terraced world of nations populated with high and low conditions and incompatible castes.

XXII.—ENGLAND'S RUNNING ACCOUNT.

Great Britain is in account with all the continents, in books and archives, from which its record cannot be expunged, nor abstracted like a fugitive state paper, nor misinterpreted like a treaty; and Great Britain having retrograded from a progressive civilizing Christian power, into imperialism and barbarity, in its foreign policy of land piracy and its unchristian treatment of prisoners and non-combatants, lives in the hate of more human beings, shocked at its inhumanity after battle, exasperated at its blustering interferences, or injured through its hypocrisy and selfishness, in plot or marplan, than any other nation on the earth. Even where it has consanguinity it has few sympathizers and no allies, because, in a struggle, it does not take the side of humanity and attempt to close a wound which might be healed, but reconnoitres the situation, ready to smite on a chance to dissever or demolish, in order afterwards to participate in a distribution of results. It is the gamester among the powers, and plays windy bets to win substantial stakes, not caring who may be worsted and weakened, so that it may acquire booty and strength. But the British empire is on a false basis, for it is founded not on rock conglomerated of pebbles cemented in a supporting strata, like a bottom rock in a mineral basin, where superincumbent veins and their floors and roofs in alternating layers rest on it, but on sands which separate under pressure and wash away, when beat against by billows. A distant colony is an embryo nation. And in the future, as in the past, new nations will develop into greatness, and old nations will be retired from rank to rank to the rear, through the grades of mother, mother-in-law, grandmother, to maternal ancestor, with a pedigree traceable to Noah, or to the Celt of Erin who survived the deluge in a boat of his own, independent of the ark.

Contemplate the geneological tree of Rome, with its branches stretching not out across the oceans of the world, but over all the shores of the principal sea of Europe—a vast area in that era. And as Rome is to London in present time, so will London be to cities in existing colonies, as nations, in future time. England is in the mother-in-law period of her eventful life; but she does not confine her jobbiness to her blood relations; and since the rebellion in the United States, the African in the cotton States has ceased to be considered her “colored brother,” and the African in Africa is made her victim, without mercy. England, like a mistress, has one principal lover at a time, but many lovers through a lifetime.

The unrest which the Berlin Memorandum of 1876 was framed to pacify, was local; and the Turk, who was in the wrong, could not have resisted the pressure put upon him, if England had not inflated him with "great expectations," thereby to thwart the plan of the three emperors, for peace. At present time there is unrest—rocking, heaving, volcanic unrest—throughout Europe; and the thunder fulminated in the newspapers, in the interest of dynasties, causes no more alarm among the subject peoples, who are stirred with ideas of revolution for self-emancipation, than stage thunder to an audience of theatre goers. The III. Ananias, in Calmet, would be a tame liar in London or Berlin, in these latter days.

In Europe the republic is actual and in its morning hour, and kingcraft is past its prime and in its afternoon; hence the latter is sinking towards the night, the former is rising towards the noon; and when noon is reached, then will come the millennium.

There is no cohesion in the different parts of the hoop-bound British *Empire*, akin to that which pervades the states of the American Union cemented by the constitution like atoms annealed in iron and pebbles fused in rock.

Even in the states which seceded from the Union and set up in business for their own account and failed, and which are now back again in their old places, there is a native population which leavens public opinion and seeds the political soil over all its acres; but in India the Briton is a trespasser and an oppressor, and the Hindoo native *knows* that the Briton is a foreigner antagonistic to him and at enmity with him, in his temporal interests and his aspirations for independence.

The Hindoo is the Briton's bondsman, and consciousness of this fact is a weight on his yearnings, humiliating to him in the light reflected from the back history of his country, aglow with grandeur in his sight and faith, down to almost his own generation.

As for empires, the old world—the ante-Columbus world—which was only a hemisphere or half a sphere, bounded by the islands of Ireland and Japan, was dotted here and there with ruins of cities, which had been capitals of kingdoms or emporiums of intertrade.

Five hundred years before Christ, the Persian Empire of Cyrus extended from the Dardanelles to the Indus and from the Black and the Caspian Seas to Egypt and the Persian Gulf.

Three hundred years before Christ, the Macedonian Empire of Alexander the Great, in addition to the territory of the Persian Empire destroyed, included Greece and Thrace, and Libya and Egypt.

Next came the Roman Empire, which was distinguished by the birth of the Saviour and the reign of the Cæsars, and by feats of arms and works of art.

After the division of the Roman Empire, A. D. 337, on the death of Constantine, the Western Roman Empire did not long survive, for it was dissolved in 476.

The downfall of the Eastern Roman-Greek Empire, however, did not occur until 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks.

The Greek Empire, at the end of the tenth century, comprised, under the emperors of Constantinople, Greece, the coasts and islands of the Ægean Sea, part of Naples and Sicily, Croatia, Servia, Thrace, Macedonia and Asia Minor. In the fifteenth century the Greek Empire was overrun by the Turks.

At the time of the First Crusade, 1095, the Mohammedan Empire extended from Hungary to Hindoostan, and from the Sea of Aral to the Red Sea, and included part of Spain and the whole of the Mediterranean shore of Africa. But Spain expelled the Moors in the fifteenth century; Persia became an independent power in the sixteenth century; Greece was made an independent kingdom in 1829; and the treaty of San Stefano negotiated between Russia and Turkey in 1878, when the Russian army, which had crossed the Balkan Mountains, as before mentioned, was halted at the gates of Constantinople, wrested from the subdued Turk, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, whose nationality the Berlin Congress in each case affirmed; meantime, however, in apostasy to the New Testament and in concession to the Koran, the Berlin Congress partitioned the ethnological Bulgaria (created by Russia in the treaty of San Stefano, a fact which will bear repetition), in the interest of Christendom, into two wickedly-divided parts, and did other things malevolent and little, indirectly to prolong the Turk's stay in Europe, where he is a stumbling-block, a drawback, and a deadly day-shadow.

Nevertheless, the Mohammedan Empire, wherein is still contained the Holy Land, which the crusaders sought to recover seven hundred years ago, is shaken to its foundation and shorn of its prestige, to the ire of the Jew chief in London; and the Sultan, whose predecessors were potentates, would be forced to recross the Bosphorus back into Asia, if political jealousy, diplomatic intrigue, and mercantile selfishness were not made paramount considerations, and given influence over the moral sentiments and religious convictions prevalent in London, Vienna, and Berlin, three reactionary sinks in dynastic civilization, in contrast with Washington and Paris, the two flag-staff cities of the world, in its march forward towards the end of the last chiliad, which, when reached, will close out the account of this planet with the universe, and scatter its pieces, we know not whither, nor whether in aërolites and meteoric stones, or other fugitives, perchance to strike a newer or an older world, and there provoke debate in a department of the creation of God, familiar to Him, unknown to us.

The Briton reads prayers to the Saviour out of a book and same time plots to continue the followers of Mahomet in Constantinople, lest Russia should restore it to Christian rule; and on the Church of St. Sophia, built by Constantius II., rebuilt by Justinian, replace the minaret and crescent with the spire and Greek cross.

Great Britain coveted and took Canada from the French and New Amsterdâm, changed to New York, from the Dutch. How it coveted and tried to take New Orleans, and failed, makes a conspicuous chapter, ablaze with Jackson's fame, in military annals.

And nowadays, because it cannot make itself master in Constantinople, through a vassal or otherwise, Great Britain intrigues and marplots to prop and strengthen the Sublime Porte—sublimated porte is a fitter name—and prevent the Christians from retaking the capital city of the eastern empire of the Greek Church, which the Turk overturned when he captured Constantinople. In the "dark ages" the crescent flag threatened Europe with conquest, and the Christian religion, to which the world is indebted for all the progress made in it since the Saviour was born, had to contend against an adversary all zeal to smite, no mercy to spare.

At present time, therefore, whilst Great Britain is the ally of the Turk whose prophet is Mahomet and whose book is the Koran, there is a consequential lull in English missionary effort to propagate in the Sultan's dominions the religion of Christ in the New Testament, which it was the ambition of Mahomet to extirpate.

In this missionary halt and rest in the Sultan's dominions, it seems to have occurred to certain of the busybodies who abound in England, to send over to the United States missionaries of free trade to preach for open ports to British goods and free markets for the productions of British machinery and labor. When the foreign trade balance is against Great Britain it talks of reciprocity and kinship; when the balance is in its favor it aspires to universal commercial dominion.

There cannot be affinity between two wide-apart countries with incompatible institutions, like the American Union and the Kingdom of Great Britain; because in the Republic the ship of state carries citizens who have the freedom of the deck and cabin, and are joint owners of the vessel, in equal parts; whereas in the Kingdom, subjects on voyage in the ship of state are carried in the hold for ballast, or for chattel assets, or a life-saving reserve, as the case may be, below six decks provided for princes, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, all with wreaths of ranks and titles, which are worn for collars on decoration days, and serve at other times for yokes, without the ribbons, on the necks of the multitude.

In sporting circles and among club-house fashionables, the courtier

boasts of the pure blood of his prince, and the genteel jockey boasts of the pure blood of his race horse ; and as purity depends on habits, and the blooded horse is trained in ignorance of haunts of vice, the jockey does not lose the argument.

To fashion "comparison is odious" indeed, where blood is the subject and the parties morally are color-blind. But physiology tells where and why the blood changes from red to blue and from blue to red ; and the difference is the relative strength of cognac brandy on a dinner table and hydrant water tinted sky color with indigo, for rinsing clothes clear of soap.

The Briton who at home is made to feel that it is the "line drawn at trade," which keeps him out of the society of the highest official and social caste in his country, ought to pause and consider that the American citizen is more than a British subject ; inasmuch as every citizen has the same political rights as every other citizen, for no citizen is born to office by inheritance and all the honors are open to competition ; whereas among British subjects feudalism survives in ranks and titles portioned among the few and circumscribed civil rights are transmitted with poverty and its accompaniments to the down-trodden majority population ; and though serfage and villeinage were long ago abolished technically by statute or proclamation, the social status of the working man, where he is a subject, is as lowly and his comforts as few, and his opportunities for self-advancement in peace or war, about as rare, as when he was a human chattel bonded for unlimited service to a master ; because, where the social and political positions are absorbed in a class and population is redundant and the labor market is overstocked, there men, having no alternative occupation or prospect, must work for what they can get, to obtain food and so keep hunger out of the household. Yes, that is the word, hunger.

What is it but *hunger* that makes one wild beast in the wilderness, or on the plains, or one monster in the sea, prey upon another ? And that makes one fish devour another in the rivers and the brooks ? Hunger—that insatiate yearning to satisfy the appetite given to everything in the animal catalogue to support life, according to the economy of nature and the purpose of the Creator.

The laws implanted for self-preservation reign and rule in animal life ; the laws of God and the duties of his responsible creatures, are described in the commandments communicated through Moses to the children of Israel ; in the parables and precepts in the narrative of the earthly sojourn of The Son, which began at Bethlehem and ended at Jerusalem ; in the sermon on the mount ; and in the acts and epistles of the inspired apostles.

The Congress of the United States occupies a temple with doors open to the elect of the ballot; the members, admitted on tickets certified, arrive over roads direct from the election polls to the seats of law-makers; the senators are received on certificates from legislatures chosen by popular vote, with delegated powers.

There is no hereditary seat in any American hall of legislation, nor anywhere in the American Union, and the term of office is limited.

The royal family and the hereditary nobles in England occupy the throne and high places under vested title wrested from the mass of population, who have no vote to cast for the chief of state, and rarely a chance to vote for a member of the higher branch of the national legislature; so that of the executive and legislative branches of the government, two of the three are above and beyond the reach of the ballot, man's best, truest, most efficient friend. Nor does the occasional abuse of the ballot by law-breakers, detract from its merit as a determinative power; for a not small percentage of the sins of the world lurk in abuses of the good things of the world. The ballot is as essential to freemen as stamens and pistils are to plants.

The ballot is the torpedo that imperialists and princes and the hereditary ranks have most horror of, for it demolished the empire of Napoleon III., and its business will be to clear the political waters of iron-clad dynasties, and after boundaries shall have been rectified, and armies and armaments reduced, keep open the fairway between ports in republics, to the fleets of peace.

For a long time England has been the principal importer from the United States of fibrous staples and other raw materials, for manipulation with its home machinery and labor, for after exportation in miscellanies manufactured for its own account, carrying the trade in its own vessels both ways. England also is foremost in the elaboration of the metals, particularly iron, into ships, bridges, rails, implements, arms, utensils, cutlery and tools. Moreover, England has meantime been principal banker, broker, carrier, stock and exchange dealer and commission agent. But this mixed and multifarious business concentrated in an island in the sea, abreast the continent of Europe, and thence ramified over the earth in navigation channels as arteries ramify the body with blood from the heart, is in these times of railway, telegraph, steamship and cablegram, dispensations in electricity and steam power, which put a rigging round the world, open to unexpected competition; and in some of its markets Great Britain has lost its supremacy and is being displaced and supplanted, particularly where native industrial skill is in training for advancement in diversified home occupations; whilst in other markets British domination is each year less absolute, and decrease and decline are more manifest in totalized results in quantities and values.

In truth, some of its continental competitors—Belgium is one—grown strong enough for aggression with specialties, have “carried the war into Africa ;” for now there are articles of foreign manufacture on sale throughout Great Britain imported duty free, to the confusion of the doctrinaires of free trade, who prescribed for others what they did not expect to have to swallow themselves, in expectation of free trade limited to food imported for consumption, and to raw materials from foreign sources imported for exportation after manufacture into commodities, enhanced in value by British labor.

This system of trade, however, so self-assuring to the Briton as seen from his busy little island, did not include in the inventory of probabilities, competitive free trade in his own bailiwick, from speculators of his lottery for the distribution of the prizes to himself, the blanks to his dupes. The Briton overrates himself and underrates his rivals, and hence where he was ahead on certain of the industrial courses, he is now only abreast with others equal in stamina and fresher in the race.

In the American Union, distinguished for its wealth of agriculture, in corn, wheat and wool, cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco ; and for its plenitude of fuels, minerals, and metals, in coal, iron, zinc, lead, copper, silver, and gold ; for its inland transportation mileage, comprising rail, lake, and river ; and for its machinery, industries, handicrafts, and arts, there is an advanced opinion on the utility of protection to home labor, to make the nation strong and powerful and independent, and perpetually *insure the citizen* against European serfage in all its shapes.

Nor is this comprehensive tariff opinion a local or sectional sentiment ; on the contrary it is widespread and prevalent as well in the west as in the east, and will proselyte the cotton states, as they shall realize that without home manufactures they cannot develop into great commonwealths like other states not larger in territory nor more richly endowed with gifts in available resources.

Great Britain relied on protection in the infancy, and adhered to protection to the maturity, of its manufactures. But at the date of its qualified divorce from protection and its limited adoption of free trade, June, 1846, Great Britain had in prospect a population too large for its territory, measured by its capacity for agricultural production ; whereas such a condition of affairs is not possible in the United States for centuries of time, because the Mississippi basin, for the subsistence of population, surpasses any corresponding region on the earth, per square mile, outside of China and Hindoostan ; and is not surpassed by the Yangtsekiang valley with its rice-eating myriads, governed like bees and ants, and nearly as unlike American citizens as chop-sticks are unlike forks.

Cumulative American capital and accumulative American labor employed in the utilization of American home staples—of which there are enough for a catalogue of names—not in a local spot or section, but on all the water-sheds and in all the basins, between all the isothermal lines which stripe the Union like its flag, are elements of competition suppliable from storages ample and sufficient, as the prices current in the home markets show, to regulate quotations to a scale equitable and just alike to investor and workman.

There is a rise and fall in prices influenced by the market between limits, like the ebb and flow of the tides influenced by the moon between limits.

There are exceptional differences in quotations in periods of speculation and depression, and there are exceptional differences between low water caused by an adverse wind and high water due to a freshet.

Quotations go up and down, like mercury exposed to heat and cold. And the weather of the market is variable in all cities, as the weather of the season is variable in all countries. Wherefore stability in prices need not be expected till the alchemist, who long ago appeared and disappeared, shall reappear reinforced, and demonstrate that base metal can be transmuted into gold, whereupon prices on the present basis of trade will cease to distract. But alchemy is behind, the millennium is ahead.

A diagramatic table of the prices of English steel rails at London, from 1870 to 1879, has a fluctuating rise from 1870 to 1873, and a fluctuating descent thence to 1879, like the profile of a sharp mountain between two levels, one lower than the other. Scotch pig iron, early in 1873, sold for 145 shillings per ton; in July, 1879, for 40 shillings per ton, and in January, 1880, for 75 shillings per ton.

XXIII.—THE TARIFF AND THE COMATOSE COTTON STATES.

A tariff is as much a protection to cotton mills at Atlanta as to iron works at Pittsburgh. And no state can retain within its borders the savings of its own citizens unless it contain a city large enough to attract capital seeking investment, nor can a large city be built anywhere (except it be a national capital where there are public departments and disbursements), without industrial establishments to employ population in manufactures and useful arts. Wealth and numbers cannot be accumulated on a site destitute of facilities for the conversion of staples into commodities for market, with machinery and labor.

Havre is not Paris, Trieste is not Vienna, but each is the seaport of a nation where imports are entered and exports are cleared, for account of Austria and France.

Norfolk is a near-sea harbor of export, but Norfolk is a small city compared with up-river Richmond, both in Virginia; and New Orleans is a port of export, but New Orleans is outgrown by St. Louis as a Mississippi river-side city.

Agriculture "pure and simple" will never develop the cotton, rice, and sugar states of the American Union into communities like the band of states from Massachusetts to Missouri.

All the six seaboard states between Florida and the Delaware Breakwater were of the original thirteen that declared their Independence at Philadelphia in 1776, and ratified the Constitution of the United States, framed at Philadelphia in 1787. And yet, in 1870, the principal cities in the four original states side by side south of the Potomac, contained but a small population, compared with the principal cities in the four original states of contiguous territory north of the Potomac, as witness:—

1870. Richmond, Virginia, . . .	51,038	1870. Boston, Massachusetts, . . .	250,526
1870. Wilmington, N. Carolina, . . .	13,446	1870. New York City, . . .	942,292
1870. Charleston, S. Carolina, . . .	48,956	1870. Philadelphia, Pa., . . .	674,022
1870. Savannah, Georgia, . . .	28,235	1870. Baltimore, Maryland, . . .	267,354
Total, four cities, . . .		Total, four cities, . . .	
		2,134,194	
		Deduct	
		141,675	
		Difference due to diversified	
		development and increments, . . .	
		1,992,519	

Of the fifty principal cities in the United States in 1870, Richmond was the twenty-fourth, Charleston the twenty-sixth, Savannah the forty-eighth; Wilmington, N. C., had only half the population necessary to rank it the fiftieth, for the fiftieth city, Fall River, Massachusetts, contained 26,766 of population. Massachusetts, indeed, contained eight of the fifty principal cities of the Union in 1870, Boston the seventh and seven others. New York also contained eight of the fifty principal cities, including the first and the third.

Had Virginia been less political and more commercial—and Virginia had the love of Washington who was a pioneer advocate of internal improvements, anxious to connect the Potomac river with the Ohio river by canal, as the Hudson river was connected with Lake Erie by canal at a later day—Virginia would at the present time contain a very large population and have a seaport city and industrial mart to be proud of, inside the capes of Chesapeake Bay. Not one of the states contains as many natural harbors in tide-water as Virginia, and yet the principal Chesapeake city, Baltimore, is in Maryland up near the head of the bay, and distant eight times as far from the capes as Norfolk.

Contrast Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and

Maryland, with Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and credit the more rapid growth of the five agricultural, industrial and commercial states, than the five states which are agricultural only, to the manufactures and trade fostered north of Washington and neglected south of Washington.

A comparison for contemplation :

Sq. Miles.	Name of State.	Census of 1790.	Rank.	Census of 1870.	Rank.
7,800	Massachusetts, ...	378,787	4	1,457,351	7
47,000	New York, ...	340,120	5	4,382,759	1
8,320	New Jersey, ...	184,139	9	906,096	17
46,000	Pennsylvania, ...	434,373	2	3,521,951	2
109,120	Total, ...	1,337,419		10,268,157	
				1,337,419	
	Increase in eighty years, (669 per cent.), ...			8,930,738	
38,348	Virginia, ...	747,610	1	1,225,163	10
23,000	West Virginia (out of Va. 1862)			442,014	27
50,704	North Carolina, ...	393,751	3	1,071,361	14
34,000	South Carolina, ...	249,073	7	705,366	22
59,268	Georgia, ...	82,548	13	1,184,109	12
205,320		1,472,982		4,628,013	
109,120				1,472,982	
96,200					
	Increase in eighty years (214 per cent.),			3,155,031	

It will be observed that the area of the four original States south of the Potomac is 205,320 square miles, against 109,120 square miles in the four original states north of the Potomac; so that in territory the Southern States named are 96,200 square miles, or eighty-eight per cent. larger than the Northern States named; and also that in 1790, the date of the first census taken by the United States, Virginia, the mother of Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and of Washington, who was commander-in-chief of the American armies throughout the seven years' war for independence, contained more inhabitants than New York and Massachusetts together. Whereas in 1870 New York and Massachusetts jointly contained 5,840,110 of population, whilst Virginia and West Virginia jointly contained only 1,667,177 of population.

XXIV.—THE EARNERS AND DEVOURERS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Extract of a "Commercial History and Review of 1878," relating to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, copied from a supplement to the London *Economist* of March 8, 1879 :

“The number of persons engaged in the various industries, as returned by the census of 1871, plus 7 per cent. for the increase of population,* appears to be as follows:—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
“Under 20, ...	1,511,000	1,219,000	2,730,000
“20 and upwards, ...	6,310,000	2,469,000	8,779,000
	<u>7,821,000</u>	<u>3,688,000</u>	<u>11,509,000</u>

“Classified according to their occupations the number stands as follows :

Occupation.	Men.	Women.	Total.
“Professional, dockyard, police, ...	282,000		282,000
“Domestic service, ...	203,000	1,849,000	2,052,000
“Commercial carriers, &c.	689,000	61,000	750,000
“Agricultural, ...	1,721,000	178,000	1,899,000
“Industrial, ...	4,926,000	1,600,000	6,526,000
	<u>“7,821,000”</u>	<u>3,688,000</u>	<u>11,509,000”</u>

Here we have it of record that in 1878 the population of the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Ireland was, ...			33,799,000
Classified according to occupation, ...	34 per cent.		11,509,000
Unclassified, ...	66 per cent.		<u>22,290,000</u>
Classified to “Professional, Dockyard, Police,”	0.8 per cent.	282,000	
Classified to “Domestic Service,”	6.1 per cent.	2,052,000	
Classified to “Commercial Carriers,” &c.	2.2 per cent.	750,000	
Total of three classes of consumers, ...			3,084,000
Classified to “Agricultural” occupation, ...	5.6 per cent.	1,899,000	
Classified to “Industrial” occupation, ...	19.3 per cent.	6,526,000	
Total of two classes of consumers, ...			<u>8,425,000</u>
Total of five classes named, ...	34.0 per cent.		11,509,000
Unclassified as above, ...	66.0 per cent.		<u>22,290,000</u>
Total population, ...	100.0 per cent.		33,799,000
Deduct “Agricultural” classification, ...	5.6 per cent.		1,899,000
	<u>94.4 per cent.</u>		<u>31,900,000</u>
Deduct “Industrial” classification, ...	19.3 per cent.		<u>6,526,000</u>
Consumers of “Agricultural” and “Industrial” products, ...	75.1 per cent.		25,374,000

* “The population in the United Kingdom in 1871 was 31,513,000, and in 1878, “33,799,000.”

Census of the United States, 1870:

Total population, ...				38,558,371
Population ten years old and over, ...	(73.21 per cent.)			28,228,945
Male population ten years old and over, ...	(50.51 per cent.)			14,258,866
Female population ten years old and over, ...	(49.49 per cent.)			13,970,079
	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Engaged in Agriculture, ...	5,525,503	396,968		5,922,471
Percentage, ...	93 $\frac{30}{100}$	6 $\frac{70}{100}$		100
	10 to 15	16 to 59	60 and over.	All ages.
Engaged in Agriculture, ...	499,558	4,959,890	463,023	5,922,471

The census of the United States in 1880 will develop a progress in agriculture since 1870, surpassing any previous decade; for America is now a source of supply of food to Europe, which is peopled in disproportion to the measure of its crops, from the Baltic Sea to the Bay of Biscay; but in America hunting grounds and buffalo pastures undergo rapid conversion into grain fields, and acreage cultivable is unbounded in the immensity of the public domain.

Great Britain, in reverse of this, is seawater-bound on all sides, and trans-channel neighbors have cause for watchfulness if not distrust, for "British interests" include whatever is covetable, and are susceptible of latitudinous and elastic definition.

The site of the American Union carpeted and furnished by the hand that made the firmament a vault for adoration, is partitioned into states across a continent abounding in opportunities for the adjustment of occupation to the condition of the markets and the prospect of the times, in matters appertaining to agriculture in all the varieties of production, within five of the eight zones of vegetable life; and to those trained to manufactures, or the mechanic arts, or acquainted with mines, American citizenship is a passport to move from state to state, and a license to make a change of base, according to volition, necessity or circumstance.

Thus America is in verity "a land of promise" to a subject who has aspirations for deliverance from thralldom in Europe, equivalent to serfage. And what that important factor in the spread of civilization, the honest immigrant who crosses the ocean buoyed by his manhood resolution and the hope which dwells in faith, when a sea voyage was a hardship and a peril, to here enjoy freedom in a strange land, has accomplished in his person and in his posterity, in adopted citizenship for himself and in children native born to a national inheritance common to all without caste or class in the civil code, is manifest to the hereditary bondsmen of the old world, in the performance of a free people insulated from Asia and Europe, and established in a new Canaan not bounded by Dan and Beersheba, but by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, between Canada and Mexico.

XXV.—JOHN RANDOLPH, NOT A PROPHET, BUT A VIRGINIAN IN ERROR.

The name of John Randolph of Virginia is conspicuous in Congressional annals, and familiar to the American people. But his oratory surpassed his statesmanship, and to his eccentricity was due his notoriety among his contemporaries. Nevertheless the true rule of construction is to judge a man according to the dates of his avowed opinions; and if subsequent developments and events confute his assertions and confound his predictions, the spuriousness of his preceptorship is made apparent, and he takes rank among the false prophets, whose post-date followers consist of short-sighted observers, faulty thinkers, and credulous dupes.

At the time that John Randolph uttered his philippic in Congress against the Ohio river as a stream, "frozen up all the winter and dry all the summer," and dogmatically avowed that "Russia, with the exception "of few of her provinces, consists, like the interior of America, of a "vast inland continent desolated and deformed by prairies or steppes," and denounced a tariff, Great Britain imposed a duty of \$32 50 on foreign iron bars imported in British vessels, and \$39 62 if imported in foreign vessels.

His assertion, too, that Philadelphia could not "become a great "manufacturing town, for which she wants all the elements of climate, "*coal*, and capital," is a mournful proof of his restricted prescience, inasmuch as Philadelphia to-day is America's Fair Ground, with Exhibition Buildings musical with machinery and men, in manufactures, mechanics and arts, which here play the principal parts; for, indeed, articles in number beyond any other place—even Paris—are made for market in Philadelphia, by mechanism and hand-power, from a marine engine and its appurtenances to a surgeon's instrument in optics; from a steamship to a shell boat; from a wagon on wheels to a watch with wheels; from a boot to a bonnet, a rope to a ribbon; from hosiery for the foot to false hair for the head; from cloths, carpets, chandeliers and curtains, to notions, nick-nacks, gew-gaws, gimcracks, bric-a-brac and toys; from things cheap and costly, made to wear for comfort and health, to things beautiful and becoming, made for embellishment and admiration. Painting and sculpture; and all kinds of contrivances, mechanical and artistic. Also jewelry, tailoring, millinery and mantua-making; including in the catalogue which appertains to Philadelphia as the City of Arts in America, the innumerable manufactures of wool, silk, cotton, and wood; and of the metals precious and base, and the alloys bronze and brass.

Philadelphia is the Union head-quarters and forecasted continental focus of the manufactured utilities of our favored America, reclaimed

from nature by a type of man advanced beyond the rest of the world in civilization, patriots and statesmen and good people who heeded the sayings of the Saviour in the sermon on the mount and elsewhere, and avowed belief in the doctrines of the New Testament, when they built and launched the Republic, a masterpiece ship of state, approved by a century of service.

In Christian America, organized for advancement, Philadelphia is a hive of industry where "busy bees" improve the "shining hour," to provide for current wants, and for winter and old age. And what is a city if not a hive with homes in honey-combs and cellars like cells, full or not full according to the harvest season and the succulency of the times?

Extracts of a speech of John Randolph, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives of the United States, April 15, 1824, on a pending Tariff bill:—

"The climate of this country alone, were there no other natural obstacle to it, says aloud, You shall not manufacture! * * *

"I know that a great deal will be said of our majestic rivers, about the father of floods and his tributary streams; but, with the Ohio frozen up all the winter and dry all the summer, with a long, tortuous, difficult, and dangerous navigation thence to the ocean, the gentlemen of the west may rest assured that they never will derive one particle of advantage from even a total prohibition of foreign manufactures. You may succeed in reducing us to your own level of misery; but if we were to agree to become your slaves, you never can derive one farthing of advantage from this bill. What parts of this country can derive any advantage from it? Those parts only where there is a water-power in immediate contact with navigation, such as the vicinities of Boston, Providence, Baltimore, and Richmond. Petersburg is the last of these, as you travel south. * * *

"But, sir, I must not suffer myself to be led too far astray from the topic of the peculiar advantages of England as a manufacturing country. Her vast beds of coal are inexhaustible; there are daily discoveries of quantities of it, greater than ages past have yet consumed; to which beds of coal her manufacturing establishments have been transferred, as any man may see who will compare the present population of her towns with what it was formerly. It is to these beds of coal that Birmingham, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Leeds, and other manufacturing towns owe their growth. If you could destroy her coal in one day, you would cut at once the sinews of her power. * * *

"There, though all men are on a footing of equality on the highway and in the courts of law, at will and at market, yet the castes

“in Hindoostan are not more distinctly separated, one from the other,
“than the different classes of society are in England. * * *

“Russia, with the exception of a few of her provinces, consists,
“like the interior of America, of a vast inland continent, desolated
“and deformed by prairies, or steppes, as they are there called, in-
“habited by a sparse population. * * *

“Men in hunting-shirts, with deer-skin leggins, and moccasins on
“their feet, want protection for manufactures; men with rifles on
“their shoulders and long knives in their belts, seeking in the forests
“to lay in their next winter’s supply of bear-meat. But it is not
“there alone the cry is heard. It is at Baltimore—decayed, deserted
“Baltimore, whose exports have more than one-half decreased, while
“those of Boston have four times increased—it is decayed and de-
“serted Baltimore that comes here and asks us for the protection of
“those interests which have grown up during the late war—privateer-
“ing among the number, I presume. Philadelphia, too, in a state of
“atrophy, asks for the measure—Philadelphia, who never can, pass
“what bill you please, have a foreign trade to any great amount, or
“become a great manufacturing town, for which she wants all the
“elements of climate, coal, and capital. * * *

“The manufacturer of the east may carry his woollens or his cottons,
“or his coffins, to what market he pleases—I do not buy of him. * * *
“Whatever may be said here of the ‘misguided counsels,’ as they
“have been termed, of the ‘theorists of Virginia,’ they have, so far
“as regards this question, the confidence of united Virginia. We are
“asked—Does the South lose anything by this bill—why do you cry
“out? I put it, sir, to any man from any part of the country from
“the Gulf of Mexico, from the Balize, to the eastern shore of Mary-
“land—which, I thank heaven, is not yet under the government of
“Baltimore, and will not be, unless certain theories should come into
“play in that state, which we have lately heard of, and a majority of
“men, told by the head, should govern—whether the whole country
“between the points I have named, is not unanimous in opposition to
“this bill.”

In 1824, when John Randolph made the extraordinary speech quoted from, Virginia contained a larger population than Pennsylvania, and was only exceeded in population by the state of New York.

In 1870, Virginia and West Virginia, whose joint population was 1,667,177, were exceeded by New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, all of which six connecting states contain mineral deposits and promote domestic manufactures.

Randolph credited to the “beds of coal” in England her “manufacturing establishments,” but he was oratorically oblivious of the coal

of Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the sale and use of Schuylkill and Lehigh coals in the Philadelphia tide-water market prior to 1824, and the fact that, in 1824, works were in process of construction to increase the delivery of Pennsylvania coal to consumers.

The Ohio river, too, albeit it may sometimes suffer from low water in midsummer or later, and be frozen in midwinter, has in spring and autumn, and during weeks between, periods of water supply ample for steamboat navigation long enough to accommodate an immense traffic, and give the stream rank and consequence among rivers available for cheap transportation.

Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville and other Ohio river towns, had grown into importance on Ohio river commerce, before a railroad was built in the Ohio valley. And what coal and iron have done for England in its industries, coal and iron are doing for states in the Union that appreciate coal and iron, and have practical wisdom to utilize their merits.

There is a commercial affinity between commodities convertible into coin, currency, or exchange, for work is rewarded out of what it produces above and below ground, for the market which is of the circumference of the earth, and where a population accumulates earnings, it draws its supplies from all sources accessible by land and sea. Commerce is essentially cosmopolitan, and its base is the surplus of production over local consumption; for if neighborhoods did not produce in excess of necessity for subsistence, they would have nothing to sell, no means to buy the surplus products of other places.

The territory between the Potomac and the Mississippi abounds in staples of agriculture produced in excess of local needs, and which therefore are available for exportation to domestic and foreign markets; yet within this territory only a small portion, or percentage barely appreciable, is manipulated into yarn or piece goods, but is sent away in cotton fibre in bales of raw material to other states and to foreign nations for manufacture, some of it to come back in textile fabrics enhanced in cost by machinery and manual labor, both foreign.

The exportation of American cotton fibre to Great Britain commenced about the year 1787 (in which year the Constitution of the United States was framed at Philadelphia), and to this day the cotton-growing region south of the Potomac exports cotton fibre to England, and imports cotton goods from England.

Official value of cotton goods, yarn, &c., exported from Great Britain :—

1697, ... \$29,575	1790, ... \$8,311,845	1860, ... \$260,062,150
1701, ... 116,165	1800, ... 27,032,505	1872, ... 400,500,000
1751, ... 229,930	1820, ... 102,549,630	1876, ... 338,000,000
1780, ... 1,175,000	1847, ... 116,666,125	1878, ... 329,500,000

The cotton goods and yarn export trade of Great Britain is substantially comprised in the last hundred years.

Surely the cotton states ought, by this time, to be satisfied that it is their interest to encourage the home manipulation of cotton fibre into domestic cotton manufactures. The cotton states are seeded with cotton mills, which are operated at a profit to their owners; and if anything can keep the cotton states from growing rich and great, it will be the substitution of free trade for protection, and the continued neglect of their deposits of coal and iron, two staples which are the bases of British manufactures; and two elements in the progress of other states which grow crops and establish industries to populate cities and keep capital at home.

Look at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago and St. Louis, and judge each by its resources without, its establishments within. Why do not the aunt states between the Potomac and the Mississippi emulate the niece states between the Ohio River and the lakes? Why do the states between Pittsburgh and Denver develop and progress more rapidly than the correlative states between Washington and New Orleans? The former abut on the ocean, and have harbors open to the maritime commerce of the world, and also rivers that descend from the Allegheny water-shed into the interior basin of the continent; whereas the latter, though abundantly endowed with physical advantages, are not richer in natural resources nor blest with a better climate than their seaboard aunts. But the western states, though they do not forget the past, do not thespianize abstractions nor resurrect the skeleton of lost causes out of appropriate graves. On the contrary, the western states are quick and sure-sighted to turn circumstances in the times and signs in the political zodiac to practical account, in sanguine expectation and forethoughtful preparation for the harvest which is ahead, for those who know when to reap, and how to combat adversity to retrieve misfortune; along with the honest and industrious multitude of soil tillers, miners and herdsmen who consort with nature, including explorers, inventors and designers who consort with science, and machinists, artisans and promoters of improvements and manufactures, who consort with art.

Where the citizen is on the watch for opportunity for profit or advancement, the experiences of past time are treated as a library book of receipts for refreshment of the memory and irrigation of the mind, because in practice judgment rather than experience is his guide, and he trusts more to promptitude than to procrastination.

XXVI.—WHY IT PAYS BETTER TO MANIPULATE HOME STAPLES THAN IMPORT COMPETITIVE FOREIGN MANUFACTURES.

New York, the postal, financial, commercial, maritime and periodical centre of the American Union, is a dual city, domestic in its proclivities, foreign in its politics, a paradoxal condition which time will end—as the boys in the public schools grow into men.

London accumulated population and wealth mainly on profits derived from exported manufactures and imported luxuries and necessities, not omitting raw materials like cotton and wool, for manufacture into goods for home consumption and exportation to foreign lands. But the handling of foreign goods between ship and shelf is a process which costs few dollars and gives occupation to few hands, compared with the cost of labor bestowed on iron between its primitive condition in the ore bed and its final consumption in anchors and needles and a thousand things between.

And so likewise does the labor bestowed on a bale of cotton in the processes of conversion into muslin, calico and thread, enhance its value to the manufacturer and its cost to the consumer. The same, too, is true of wool, flax and other fibrous products of the ground.

And as the manufactures of iron, cotton and wool comprise most of the volume and value of British exports, the development of English manufactures stimulated the expansion and increase of London, the capital city of the kingdom.

And what is true of London is equally true of New York city, except that London is the seat of Parliament and New York is not the seat of Congress. But New York has a continent in its rear, and London is on an island in the ocean.

Contrast the sum disbursed in New York city for handling grain shipped on through bills of lading from the West to Europe, and for hauling from steamship to railway station, imported goods shipped on through bills of lading from Europe into the Mississippi valley, with the sum disbursed for the labor of a thousand persons employed in an industrial establishment in New York city or its vicinage? Employes must have houses to live in, clothes to wear, food to subsist life; and thus home industries create home markets.

The states east of Ohio are permanent markets for the agricultural products of the states west of Ohio. And to Chicago or any other interior trade centre, a machine shop, cotton factory, or woollen mill, or iron works, is of more profit than a grain elevator, efficient as the latter is as an auxiliary in transportation; for skilled labor evolves textile fabrics out of cotton and wool fibre and transforms woods and metals into furniture and hardware; whereas unskilled labor merely

moves commodities at clearance and transfer stations and terminal destinations.

Thus the locomotive works at Paterson are of more consequence to New Jersey than the coal piers at Jersey City and Hoboken, where fuel is dumped from cars into boats and coastwise vessels.

Coal in place in the mine is worth per ton only a royalty of twenty-five to fifty cents; but when interest on colliery plant, cost of mining-labor and charge for transportation are added, the price of coal to the consumer at tidewater represents the cost of production, made up in major part of the price of labor, and in lesser part of margin of profit to cover exhaustion of mineral, depreciation of works and interest on investment. All these are elements of cost in coal, at market place.

A locomotive engine is a representative of labor, from the iron-ore pit to the railway track, for the furnace and rolling mill and the construction shop are between the ore pit and the head of a train. Wherefore, primitive in the ground, the material in a locomotive is not worth one per cent. of its price to a railroad company.

Every industry has its ramifications; and these harmonize in a community of interests and avocations, including agriculture; for distant markets are beset with uncertainties, as wheat is the product of many lands, and a succession of poor harvests in the same country is not likely to occur twice in one decade, in the ordinary course of nature.

That New York city contains advocates of free trade is true, and that Philadelphia contains advocates of free trade is likewise true, but in the latter city they are as few as sane persons in insane asylums or innocent persons in prisons; whilst in the former city they make up in noise what they lack in numbers; for intelligent adopted citizens have knowledge of the European labor market, and understand how and why, where the working force is too large for constant employment on the limited work to do, there is no option but minimum pay or idleness; for Europe is unlike America, in having no opportunities for alternative occupation; and hence here, when one pursuit is overfull, another pursuit is only part supplied, possibly in the same neighborhood or state, or perchance in a distant locality, where population is not crowded, if not sparse.

This alternative occupation is illustrated in the summer harvester who in winter is a wood-chopper, whereby he finds employment and obtains compensation throughout the year.

Adaptability to a new base is an American characteristic, wherefore it is easy to find an American workman whose labor-life is subdivided into as many callings as there have been panics and depressions, in his experiences and wrestlings with fickle fortune.

In Europe, where all the walks and ways of livelihood are full to

overflowing, a workman who steps down and out of his place, can find no vacancy to fill, for there is no room unoccupied anywhere. And herein is one of the evils of over-crowded population, a problem for Great Britain to solve, albeit the attempted solution may compel concession from the landed aristocracy that will tend to extinguish the feudalism which oppresses subjects into serfs, in everything but name. May Providence hasten this deliverance to the poor man!

Where there is a concentration of land ownership in a caste created by law or patent and called noble to exalt it, and great wealth is gathered in few hands, "the rich get richer and the poor become poorer," in ordinary times; but when domestic discontent ends in overturn, upheaval or revolution, and reconstruction follows, then a new distribution of public honors stimulates the vitalizing arterial red blood in the masses to nobler aspirations and higher hopes. The venous "blue" goes back and is dyed over again.

The difference between the citizens of France and the subjects of England widens with every year; for in France investors increase in number, whereas in England investors decrease in number; showing that the laws of France tend to the distribution of means among the many, the laws of England on the contrary to the concentration of wealth in the ruling classes, and the spread of poverty among the masses.

Citizen workmen of America, look to Congress! Be assured that free trade will give the American market to Europe, or reduce wages in America to the European standard of starvation pay. England at times contains thousands of men idle, and thousands of men on short hours, or who have work four days more or less in a fortnight. This condition of the labor market leaves the English workman no option but to accept the compensation offered him; for, although we read of arbitration between committees of employers and committees of employes in the mutuality of interest in conciliation, and all that diplomatic preface, still it must be considered that, in dissemblance and finesse, the frank workman is not a match for a manœuvring master.

Look at the conventions held by political parties, and observe how committees manipulate platforms and fix and refix "the slate," according as committee men are dexterous or dull. This, to be sure, is called *management*, and so it is, to the winning side; and what the losing side may call it, is of little consequence, after negotiation is ended, and the conclusion reached is binding on both sides.

Citizen workmen of America must remember, moreover, that the opulent can afford to be indifferent in a struggle between labor here and labor abroad, because wealth seeks affiliation with fashion and force, and where there are titled swells there will be rich snobs.

As riflemen practice to hit the bull's-eye on a target, so the dealer, with whom a transaction is a shooting match, aims to hit the dollar.

The maker of an article is prone to meditate the process of its construction and inquire of himself concerning the possibility of improvement; whereas the dealer only cares about what he can get an article for, and what can he get for it!

The citizen workmen of the United States, and these comprise its body and its brain, for everybody in the Union, except here and there a drone, works in some way, and so earns what he wears and swallows, must take heed lest doctrinaires in Congress, who walk in a light radiated from a magnifying reflector behind the sun, vivified by Edison's electric illuminator; and foreigners and agents of foreigners, along with an occasional indigenous snob, in town and country north of Washington and west of Maine; and Bourbons and Pocahontasians and abstractionists between the Potomac and the Mississippi, jointly intrigue to degrade citizenship in America to the bottom level condition of serfage in Europe, the inevitable downward transition if protection be surrendered to free trade; as, where there are hereditary orders and honors there are resultant underneath castes and classes; and where there are legalized ranks graduated to a scale, royalty will cap the column and labor constitute the bottom stone.

Great Britain, which, of all the powers, is the only one that meddles in American Union affairs, is the chameleon of dynastic statecraft, and can wear as many colors as there are "British interests," supposititious and real; but, for reciprocity with the United States, Great Britain is incapable and impotent, because it has nothing of its own to proffer, that is not already possessed by the United States. Moreover, reciprocity is mutuality in good intentions and equality of consideration; but Great Britain buys American cotton because it cannot grow cotton equally good in India, and Great Britain buys American breadstuffs and provisions because its population has appetite for consumption beyond the capacity of its agriculture for production. Its acreage it cannot increase, though its population has been augmented till now it is redundant.

As to what Great Britain asks for, through its many mediums of communication, including after-dinner speeches made for the advertisement of ducks in peacock feathers on this side and parliamentary owls and literary parrots of the other side, it will suffice to say that, what is omitted is beyond the horizon of its covetous eyes and the range of the telegraph; for Great Britain is for self, self, self, here, there and everywhere, in both hemispheres; and consequently it is not satisfied if it cannot have its own way in the human family, where it disturbs the rest of the strong with its bluster and show of false

teeth, and confiscates the valuables of tribes defenceless against modern guns, to its own bottomless pockets.

History has repeated itself many times since Babylon, the typical trade centre, was moved by events between intervals, via Carthage, Venice and Antwerp, to a temporary base on the Thames, whence, if the Congress of the United States continue a rational body of law-makers, it will be ferried over a Jordan wider than the original, to the new continent which is midway between the two oceans that roll between London and Peking.

England imposes a *tariff on the ballot* to protect its royal dynasty and hereditary Lords from the elective franchise, and in obliquity to shame urges free trade in the industrial arts, with American citizens whose opinion is the law of their land, and who are themselves the state, exalted above subjects considered chattels of a crown, bonded for service to superiors in rank, but not superiors in manhood stamina, mental might, and moral worth.

Think, think, and consider the difference between the American citizen and the European subject, and pause and weigh the responsibility you are under to God and to mankind, ye Senators and members of Congress, when in session at Washington, and during recess at home.

1402 SPRUCE STREET,
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